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# CAESAR

## GALLIC WAR

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# CAESAR.

## SCENES FROM THE FIFTH AND SIXTH BOOKS

OF

## THE GALLIC WAR.

Edited, for the use of Schools,

BY

C. COLBECK, M.A.,

LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; ASSISTANT MASTER AT HARROW SCHOOL.

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# PREFACE.

This little edition has no pretensions to originality. It is an attempt to make the most for young boys of an interesting portion of Caesar—the best Latin book, I believe, for those who have just emerged from the Principia. In the Introduction I have tried to make the subject-matter interesting to boys, by giving fully the setting of the picture. In the notes I have tried to take them to their grammars and to the study of the language. Where readings differ, I have in all cases chosen the easiest, and I have intentionally made no mention of other interpretations.

Kraner's excellent School Edition has long been so well known to me that I could not, had I wished, have been independent of its help. My other authorities are Napoléon's 'Histoire de Jules César,' Mommsen, Thierry's 'Histoire des Gaulois,' and Mr. Froude's 'Caesar.'

For one of the illustrations and the Map of the Campaign I am indebted to the Atlas to Napoléon's work, and for others of the illustrations to Max Jähn's 'Atlas zur Geschichte des Kriegswesens.'

Harrow, *December* 1880.

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# INTRODUCTION.

## § 1. The Conquest of Gaul.

In the first century before Christ the only great power in the civilized world was the Roman Republic. The victories of its armies and the relentless grip of its government had brought within the circle of its empire, first the adjoining tribes of Italy, then the whole peninsula of Italy itself; then Sicily and Sardinia, Spain, Africa, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt. Nations and kings one after another fought and fell before the resistless courage and perseverance of Rome. If aggression was forced upon her at first, long before the time we are speaking of it became her settled policy. Around the shores of the Midland Sea no rival might challenge the supremacy of Rome. She offered, or boasted that she offered, peace and good government to all the known world; but it was at the sword's point, and it was to the sword that she appealed only too readily in all disputes. It was not a mere boast. *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*—"To spare the conquered and war down the proud"—was no unworthy device for a great nation in ages when the rights of nationalities to independence did not exist, even as the dream of

Rome.

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philosophers, much less as a maxim of justice. Peace at least she did bring wherever she came; and that good government was a possibility under her rule, and an avowed object of many good and great Romans, history has abundant proofs. Had the reformers been successful, the Empire might have been established on just principles. Unfortunately reform at Rome was always met by armed resistance from the aristocracy. Power rested with the Senate, and the Senate and its supporters were eminently aristocratic. They were not exclusively so: they admitted to their ranks any "new man" of conspicuous ability or large wealth, and were the stronger for it, but they resisted all endeavours to establish a system of land laws which should be tolerable for the poor, and as long as they dared they refused the franchise to the inhabitants of Italy, —that is, to the men who formed the legions with which their conquests were made and held. They treated the provinces as districts to be plundered by the members of their own order who were sent out to administer them; and at last they brought matters to such a pass that the city of Rome consisted only of their noble selves and a rabble fed by them, while outside the Italians were evicted and starving and desperate. They did not see, though men like Caesar did, that a form of government, however good, needs good men to administer it, and the Catos and Ciceros could only think of "the Constitution in danger," when, in reality, the Constitution was an empty name, and thorough reform at all costs the only true policy. And they governed themselves worst of all. Luxury and vice infested high society at Rome with a corruption that was its ruin. While the Roman legions were invincible,

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their masters were losing self-respect and capacity for rule together. There had been civil war in the times of the Gracchi, and again in the days of Marius and Sulla. Sulla had restored the aristocracy to power, but he had not reformed its vices. It was proud, insolent, greedy, and incapable; and the sword having once been appealed to within the sacred precincts of the capital, was likely to be appealed to again. To be a great general was the short road to political power. Caesar's keen eye saw this, and, though too much must not be made of it, certainly it was not absent from the motives which made him eager to have the command in Gaul assigned to him.

There were great men in the world before Caesar, but it seemed to good judges of his own age that he was greater than them all; and there have been great men after him, but still, compared with all before and after, so far as it is possible to compare where circumstances are so different, his name seems to good judges the greatest of all names known to history. Better men have lived, greater statesmen, perhaps greater generals, but none have so combined the qualities which we praise and wonder at. The Emperors of Rome, the German Kaisers, probably the Russian Czars, bore or still bear his name. A month was renamed in his honour, and has retained the name of "the mightiest Julius" ever since in the languages of all Europe. His wonderful life must be studied elsewhere, his fearless youth, his early manhood devoted to the cause of liberty and reform, his marvellous success as a general, though he only turned soldier comparatively late in life, and held no command until he was forty years old. How he became

Gaius Julius Caesar.

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the master of Rome's destinies, and by justice and clemency showed that he was worthy to control them, and was ambitious more for his country than for himself; and how, in the height of his greatness, he was murdered by men who called him tyrant, and thought that the only right form of government was the rule of the noble and wealthy few,—of the oligarchy which bore and disgraced the name of the Roman Republic,—all this forms a history full of interest and of lessons for all time. Here we have only one scene from the midst of his great exploit of the conquest of Gaul. It will show us something of his care for his men which so endeared him to them, of his promptitude and daring, of his supreme calm and self-control, of his fairness as an historian, of his kindness as a superior officer, slow to blame, quick to praise; and it will give us a lively picture of his enemies, their strength and weakness, their mode of warfare. Above all, it will show us the matchless strength of the Roman Legions when fighting behind the entrenchments which they were so skilled in making. We shall not see their prowess in pitched battle, nor their daring in assault: those are told in other books of his Commentaries; but no other portion illustrates so well the odds against which Caesar fought, the perpetual danger of absolute annihilation under which he and his men lived for eight years of hard campaigning. It is these odds, probably, which make us side so completely with Caesar, and pass without objection phrases such as "sedition," "rebellion," "treachery," "insubordination," used of men who were after all fighting for liberty and repelling an invader whom they had not provoked. For it must be asked, what business had Caesar in Gaul? Not much in truth. For him

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personally it is enough to answer that the interference in the affairs of Gaul was none of his contriving, and that he was fighting in his country's cause. But the Romans had no more right to conquer Gaul than we had to conquer India. It seemed to them, no doubt, that the safety of the Empire required it.

Rome and Gaul.

In 390 B.C. a great Gothic invasion burnt Rome. As Rome recovered and extended her rule over Italy, she conquered the Gauls who were settled in the north of it and formed the Province of Gallia Cisalpina. The struggle with Carthage involved the conquest of Spain, and the route to Spain lay along the coast and passed through the southern part of Gaul. This, too, was annexed, and a new Province formed, called Gallia Transalpina, the borders of which, at the time we are treating of, were extended northwards to the Cevennes and the Garonne. The modern name Provence is simply a survival of this Provincia, as it was commonly called, with no further title. The Province was rich and had a splendid port in Massilia, and traders and capitalists from Rome developed its resources and extended their commerce into the rest of Gaul, bringing wealth to the inhabitants and effecting considerable changes in their manners and habits. Perhaps, had Gaul beyond the Province remained strong, the Romans might have been content to secure their frontier; at any rate, the conquest of the whole land would have come at a later date. But in the years 109–101 came another great invasion from the unknown barbarian lands that lay beyond the Alps and the Rhine. The Cimbri and the Teutones—the vanguard of the German populations which, under the names of Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, five hundred

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years later overwhelmed the Western Empire and founded the kingdoms which have grown to be modern Europe—swept over Gaul, annihilated two Roman armies, threatened Spain, and advanced towards Italy itself. From this great danger Rome was saved by Marius, by the victories of Aquae Sextiae (Aix in Provence) in 102 and of Vercellae near Verona in 101, the very year probably of Caesar's birth. Italy was saved for a time, but henceforward the Germans were a source of vague alarm and danger to all far-seeing statesmen. They were strong, and their populations swarmed over their own borders. The Gauls were growing weaker and were disunited. The Germans intervened in the quarrels of the Gauls: they crushed the Aedui, a tribe who dwelt near Lyons, and settled among their allies, or rather vassals, the Sequani; they frightened the Helvetii into a migration westwards, and this brought the Helvetii into conflict with the Aedui, who were the allies of Rome, and bordered on the Roman Province. There was real danger and just ground for action of some kind, and in 59 B.C. Caesar was appointed absolute governor for five years (afterwards extended to five years more) of Cisalpine Gaul, Illyricum, and the Province. He had shown supreme ability as a general in Spain in 61; he had been Consul in 59, and had effected reforms as bold as they were salutary; he was in alliance for the time with Pompey, who had married his daughter Julia, and the Nobles did not refuse him the command which he sought. For a good general was needed, and moreover, if Caesar went, a dangerous reformer was removed from the capital, while Pompey's wishes were at the time commands. So Caesar went to see what needed

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doing for the safety of Rome, and to do it,—with no clear idea assuredly of conquest and annexation, but a readiness to carry out any plan, however vast or daring, if salutary,—with an ambition probably to return from the West as Pompey had returned from the East three years before, a victorious general, with a devoted army at his back, whom the Senate dared not quarrel with,—with a statesman's determination undoubtedly to avert military danger from the Empire, to make its frontier secure, and then to carry out the reforms which alone could save the State from ruin. Such was his task, and he did it as none but he could have done it. He thought Gaul must be made Roman, and he made it so completely and once for all. Great general as he was, he was a still greater statesman. Napoleon or Alexander would have been tempted to advance into Britain or Germany, and conquer them too. Caesar proved to Britons and Germans that the sea and the Rhine were no obstacles to the majesty of Rome, and then, like a statesman, retired to consolidate the lands which he meant to hold. That very briefly explains the business which Caesar had in Gaul. In eight years, in seven campaigns, with an army of never more than 40,000 legionaries, he accomplished it, and administered the Provincia, Illyricum, and Gallia Cisalpina besides. (It cost Rome some 15,000 legionaries; it cost Gaul a million of lives, men, women, and children, the destruction of her strongholds and most populous cities, her military glory, her liberty, and her independence. There is a brighter side, however. It gave Rome a barrier in the Rhine which for four centuries she maintained secure; it gave to Gaul a settled government, admission to Roman citizenship, scope

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for her industry and commerce, the charm of Roman culture and literature, the benefits of Roman law; it opened the Roman Senate to the worthiest of her nobles and a career to her many orators and men of mark. That she was conquered at all was, it must be confessed, her misfortune and the shame of Roman aggression; that she was conquered thoroughly and administered on the whole well was Caesar's glory.

Summary of the campaigns.

In the first campaign of the war the Helvetii were conquered and resettled in their ancient lands; Ariovistus and his Germans were driven across the Rhine and cut to pieces. In the second the great tribes of the North were crushingly defeated. In the third the West and the coast of the Channel were subdued; a Roman fleet, created by Caesar and built on the Loire, annihilated the fleet of the Gauls; Aquitania submitted to Roman rule. In the fourth the Rhine was bridged and the Germans invaded in their own homes; Britain was made to feel that she helped her kinsmen at her peril. In the fifth Britain was again invaded, and so lessoned that no further interference from her chieftains troubled the Roman armies; while in the winter the detailed attack upon the camps of the Legionaries which forms the subject of this little book was repelled and signally avenged. In the sixth the vengeance was still further completed, and the North subdued to its furthest limits in the marshes of the Low Countries. In the seventh a general revolt of all Gaul except the Remi, under their one general of genius, the heroic Vercingetorix, was crushed for ever; and in the eighth year of the war the conquest was completed and the occupation of the country fully carried out.

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*Colbeck's Caesar.*

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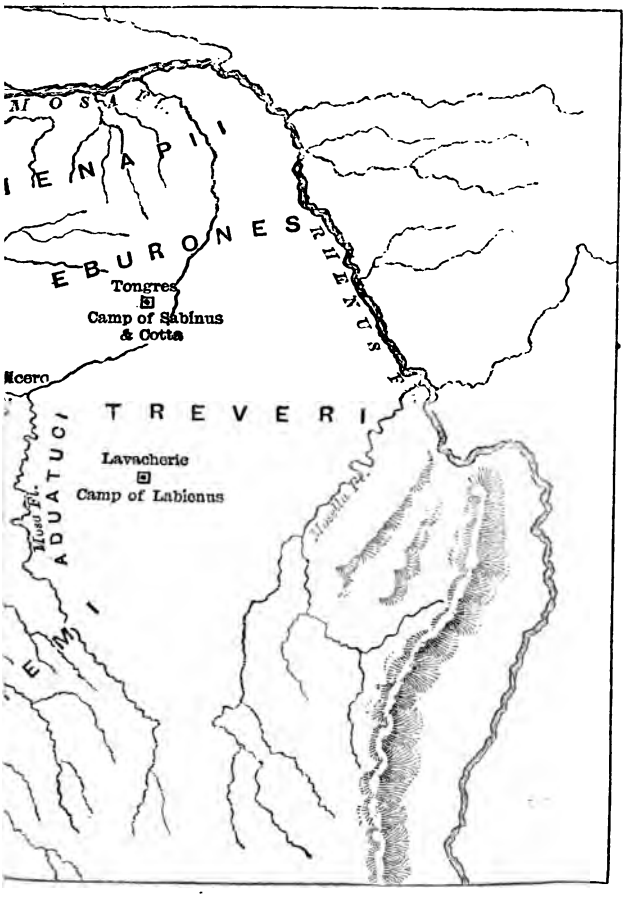


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*To face p.* xiii.

3 CAMPS, B.C. 54–53.

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Let us now turn to the events with which we have more particularly to deal. Caesar had returned from his second invasion of Britain. His legions had to be quartered for the winter, and the state of the North made it desirable that they should winter there. The harvest had been bad, and supplies were short. To keep all the troops together was not to be thought of; to separate them by too great intervals was dangerous and would court treachery. To understand the problem fully we must look carefully at the map. It is a district full of memories for the historian. Again and again has a portion of it been the battle-field of Europe. Paris lies on its southern border, a township then of the Parisii, and called Lutetia. Belgium with all her wealthy towns formed the heart of it. Amiens, then called Samarobrīva, was Caesar's head-quarters. Namur was then as now a fortress that seemed impregnable, but was not. Charleroi was the central point of interest. Not far from Liège, with its swarming factories, was the scene of the massacre which, had Caesar really gone to Italy as the Gauls thought he had, would have been for the Romans the beginning of the end. In Rheims still survives the name of the Remi, the one tribe whose allegiance to Caesar never failed. Rouen and Normandy, Boulogne and Calais and Antwerp, are included too. Within its limits lie the battle-fields of Châlons; of Creçy and Agincourt; of Gravelines and St. Quentin; of Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet; of Ligny, Quatre Bras, and Waterloo; of Sedan. It is intersected by the great rivers whose names, so familiar to us in their modern dress, are older far than our story, and easily recognizable in their Roman form. To the

**The attack on the winter camps.**

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South are the Matrōna (Marne) and the Sequăna (Seine); on the East the Mosella (Moselle) and the Rhenus (Rhine). Through the centre flows the Mosa (Meuse), joined where Namur now is by the Sabis (Sambre), itself joining the Rhenus in the impassable forests and bogs of Batavia—"the Low Lands" then as now, but uncleared and undyked as yet. From the centre of the district, near together, rise the Samăra (Somme), flowing eastward to the Channel, and the Isăra (Oise) downward to join the Seine below Paris, carrying with it the waters of the Axŏna (Aisne); and from West to East, in the northern part, the Scaldis (Scheldt) runs to the German Ocean. There are no mountains, but, save on the coast and north of the Sambre, the country is hilly and rendered difficult by its vast tracts of uncleared forest. For though grain was grown here and there, most of Gaul in Caesar's time was unreclaimed. The inhabitants lived by pasture; roads and bridges were scanty; trade was almost exclusively in skins and cattle. It seemed to Caesar that he must post his legions within reach of one another, in places where they would at once hold the various tribes in check, and be able to draw sufficient supplies of corn without interfering with each other. The exact localities of the camps must always remain open to discussion, but it helps the memory to associate each camp with some one place, and for almost all the cases probability points to one spot rather than to the others suggested. The places here given are those adopted by Napoléon III. in his most interesting and learned work on Caesar; and if we remember that the facts are not ascertained beyond dispute, our account will gain in clearness and in effect by neglecting the discussion

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of doubtful points. Between the Meuse and the Moselle dwelt the great tribe of the Trevĕri—of German origin, Caesar thought, and in alliance with their kinsfolk beyond the Rhine. On their western borders, at Lavacherie on the Ourthe, was placed Labienus, Caesar's best general, with one legion. North of the Treveri on the Meuse, with their chief town at Namur, were the Aduatuci, a mighty race and treacherous, as Caesar had learnt in the second campaign; and farther down the Meuse the large tribe of the Eburōnes. In the territory of the latter fifteen cohorts, a legion and a half, the half legion consisting of recruits from Cisalpine Gaul, encamped at Tongres near Liège, under the command of Sabinus, an unenterprising man, whose obstinate incapacity led to a great disaster, and of Cotta, a brave man, who shared the calamity which he tried in vain by good counsel to avert. In the centre, amongst the Nervii, whose fighting men had been annihilated in the second campaign, Quintus Cicero with one legion made his winter-quarters at Charleroi on the Sambre, fifty miles from Sabinus and Cotta, and seventy-five from Labienus. A hundred miles north-east of Cicero, at St. Pol, not far from Arras, among the Atrebates, Gaius Fabius had a legion. South of him, some fifty miles, at Samarobrīva (Amiens) on the Somme, Trebonius with one legion guarded Caesar's head-quarters; twenty miles south of Trebonius, at Montdidier, was posted the Quaestor Marcus Crassus with another legion; and twenty miles again to the south, beyond the Isara (Oise), was Plancus at Champlieu near Compiègne, also with one legion. These three were to be quartered among the Belgae. One legion alone, under Roscius, was sent farther off across the Seine to the

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Essuvii in Normandy. No danger was apprehended here. Their camp was at Séez, north of Le Mans. Except this legion, the whole number were included in a circle with a radius of 100 miles, the centre of which would be Charleroi. Of the tribes the most dangerous were the Treveri and Eburones, who had not yet been conquered, though they had nominally submitted, the Aduatuci, and the Nervii, from their reputation and influence with several smaller tribes, though, as we have said, their fighting strength had perished in the great battle on the Sambre in 57. On the North, moreover, beyond the camps dwelt two tribes who as yet had not known Caesar,—the Morini, occupying the country between Calais and Antwerp, and the Menapii, whose lands lay further to the East. One tribe alone, the Remi, who lived between the Treveri and the river Isara, Caesar could fully trust. There was danger in the air, and Caesar felt it, and therefore determined to remain at his head-quarters at Samarobriva until he heard that the winter camps were fully completed and the supplies secured and stored. Still his eight legions had not been beaten yet, and had the experience of five campaigns to teach them their general's ability, their enemies' weakness and their own strength.

Caesar's officers.

It will be interesting here to say a few words about the officers who commanded them. Titus Annius Labienus had been tribune of the people before the Senate assigned to him the post of *legatus* or staff-officer to Caesar. During the eight years of the war he served faithfully and ably. Caesar rewarded him with his favours and his confidence and untold wealth. But Labienus, jealous perhaps of a general whom he considered no more than his equal in the art of war,

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deserted when the Civil War broke out to the side of Pompey. When Caesar heard of it, he begged that all his officers who wished would do the same. Not one left him. It was the advice of Labienus which decided Pompey to risk the battle of Pharsalus. From that disastrous field Labienus escaped to Africa and shared the defeat of Scipio. Then he joined Gnaeus Pompey in Spain, and met his death in the final struggle on the field of Mutina. Caesar honoured his ungrateful lieutenant with a splendid funeral.

Marcus Crassus was Caesar's quaestor, or paymaster to the forces and quartermaster-general; he was the son of the Triumvir and elder brother of Publius Crassus, who conquered Aquitania for Caesar, and then left Gaul to join his father in his wild campaign against the Parthians and to fall with him at Carrhae in 53, a few months later than the time of our story. Marcus Crassus remained faithful to Caesar, and during the Civil War administered Gallia Cisalpina.

Of Sabinus and Cotta, whose death is here recorded, little is known but that in the third campaign Sabinus had already shown something of the incapacity, if not cowardice, which was now to prove fatal, and that Cotta was a brave and trustworthy officer.

Quintus Cicero was the younger brother of the famous orator. He had been governor of Asia, and had played a part in the troubled politics of Rome before he joined Caesar as *legatus* in this very year. His qualities as a commander are sufficiently attested by what Caesar says of him. He left Gaul two years afterwards to join his brother in Cilicia, sided with Pompey in the Civil War, but made his peace with Caesar afterwards. On Caesar's death he



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declared himself against Antony and was killed in the proscription.

Gaius Fabius, unknown to history before the Gallic War, served Caesar well during it and the Civil War, and distinguished himself in the final campaign of the latter in Spain. Nothing is known of him afterwards.

Trebonius, like Labienus, had been tribune of the people; he served as *legatus* all through this war, and held several important commands for Caesar during the Civil War. Yet he joined the conspirators who murdered his general and friend, and would have plunged his own dagger into him had not he been accidentally detained by Antony outside the Senate House. Not long afterwards Dolabella caught him in Asia, and flung his head at the feet of a statue of the great Dictator, whom he first so worthily served and then so unworthily betrayed.

Plancus was the loved friend and devoted follower of Caesar. It was he who pleaded for Marcus Cicero with the victorious Dictator. After his master's death he sided with Antony, but later, foreseeing his fall, he joined Octavius; and under the new master of Rome, on whom his motion bestowed the title of Augustus, he enjoyed great honour and high office. The 7th ode of the 1st book of Horace is addressed to him. He governed Gaul for a short time, and founded the great city of Lyons (*Lugdunum*).

Lucius Roscius appears to have been but an indifferent officer: nothing certain is known of his after-career. It was perhaps he who carried proposals for a compromise from Pompey to Caesar before the Civil War began, and he is believed to have perished in the battle of Mutina.

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## § 2. The Roman Army.

We have said that Caesar's army contained eight legions and a half: of these, the half legion, lately raised in North Italy, had seen no fighting; of the rest six had fought through all the five preceding campaigns. One of them was the 10th, the fighting 10th, whose devotion Caesar had secured in the first campaign by trusting them absolutely when they with the rest wavered. The other two legions had been raised for the second campaign, and had therefore already met and beaten most of the tribes amongst which they were quartered. The legions were the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th.

The Roman legionary for attack or defence was probably the finest soldier the world has ever seen. He was not only an infantry soldier of the line, he was a sapper and miner and engineer too. His clothing consisted of tunic (*tunica*) and belt (*cingulum*), short cloak (*sagum*), and heavy boots (*caligae*). He wore an iron helmet (*cassis*), or one of leather and bronze (*galea*), with a plume of red or black feathers; his coat (*lorica*) was of leather, disposed in front with plaits or strips of the same material, with a small breastplate of iron. Besides this, he wore greaves (*ocreae*) of bronze or leather reaching to the knee, but for lightness often only the right greave was worn. The shield (*scutum*), of wood covered with hide, with an iron boss (*umbo*) in the centre, was about four and a half feet long by two and a half broad. This completed his defensive armour. His weapons were two,—a short straight two-edged sword (*gladius*), hung over the shoulder by a belt (*balteus*) and worn on the right side,



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except by officers, who, having no shield, wore the sword on the left as we do; and secondly, the *pilum*, the distinctive Roman weapon. The *pilum* consisted of a shaft of wood one and a half inches in diameter and four and a half feet long, shod with an iron point. The iron was also four and a half feet long, but covered some portion of the shaft, so that the total length of the weapon was less than seven feet. It was used as a missile. We are told that *pila*, modelled on some fragments excavated at Alesia, have been hurled to a distance of more than fifty yards. Its point was of soft iron, so that it bent and clung to the armour or shield of the enemy and could not be used again by him. Each man carried two. Rank after rank delivered these missiles like volleys of musketry, until the enemy's line broke or wavered; then a charge was made, the fight came to close quarters, and the short stabbing sword did the rest.

Except when in light marching order (*expeditus*), besides this equipment and his baggage (*sarcina*) each man carried provisions for a fortnight, two or three stakes for palisading the camp, basket, kettle, and a spade or some engineering tool. It was by superiority in endurance and marching power quite as much as by bravery and steadiness that Roman victories were won. A legion nominally numbered between 4000 and 5000 men, but we gather that Caesar's legions rarely exceeded 3500. They were divided into 10 cohorts of 300 to 360 men, each cohort into 3 maniples of 100 to 120 men, each maniple into 2 centuries of 50 to 60 men: *centuria* is not often used, *ordo* is the commoner term; *ordinem ducere* meant "to be a centurion."

In line of battle (*acies*) the usual formation was

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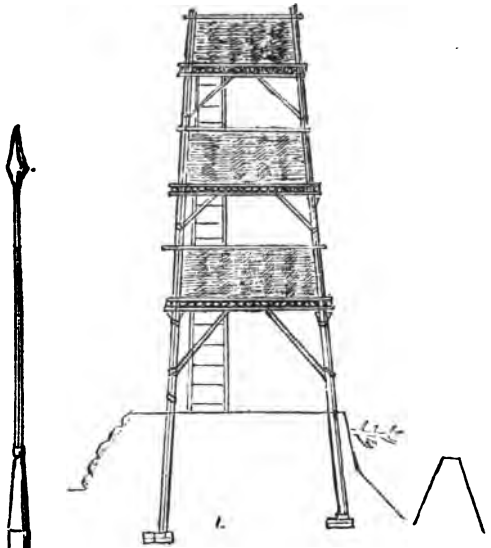

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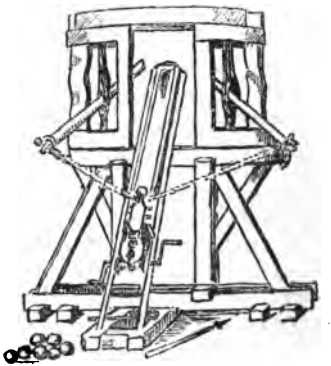

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ILLUSTRATIONS OF ROM

1. *Turris*, with portion of *agger* and *fossa*. 2. *Gladius*. 6. *Testudo* (fro

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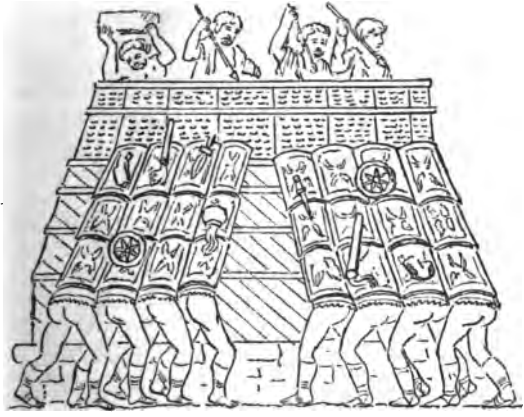

6

WEAPONS AND WARFARE.

ionaries (from Trajan's Column). 4. *Pilum.* 5. *Ballista.*
rajan's Column).

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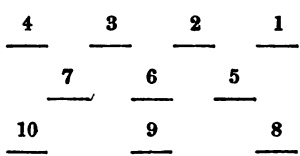
called *triplex acies*. Four cohorts formed the first line, each cohort posted at an interval from the next equal to the length of its front; the second line was similarly posted, with its three cohorts opposite to the intervals in the first line, at a distance from them of the length of a cohort's front. At the same distance behind the second line was the third, consisting of the remaining three cohorts. The men stood ten deep, so that the cohort presented a front of from thirty to forty men. The three lines, it will be seen, formed the *Quincunx*, or chequer.




The line of march (*agmen*) in presence of the enemy was the same, the cohorts being in column instead of in line. If surrounded by superior numbers, the legion formed an *orbis* or hollow square, and sometimes even marched in an order corresponding to this, called *agmen quadratum*. In an ordinary march the cohorts advanced in single columns, and each legion had its baggage immediately behind it. Caesar had no cavalry, but every Gaul was a horseman, and he formed bodies of useful cavalry from various tribes of Gaul and also of Germans. As skirmishers and light troops (*velites*) he had bodies of auxiliaries (*auxiliares*), consisting of slingers from the Balearic Islands and archers from Crete. These and the cavalry were stationed on the wings of the line of battle.

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Officers of a Roman army.

The officers of the Roman army were:—1. The General, appointed by the Senate, Consul or Proconsul, Praetor or Propraetor, as the case might be. He was *dux belli*; after a successful battle or campaign he was saluted by his soldiers as *Imperator*, the proudest military title Rome possessed.

2. The *Legati* or generals on the commander's staff. These were appointed by the Senate, and varied in number. Caesar was first granted six, and afterwards six more, some of the first having in the meantime left him. To them separate expeditions and commands were confided.

3. The *Quaestor*, properly a civil officer attached to the general as governor of the province assigned to him, whose duty it was to look after all money matters. In war, therefore, he was Paymaster and Adjutant-general.

4. The *Tribuni militum*, of whom each legion had six, but only one seems to have been on duty at a time, and each served for two months. They kept the roll-call, ordered the camp, and had charge of the discipline of the troops. They were appointed by the Senate on the recommendation of the general.

5. The Centurions. These were sixty in number for each legion, and were appointed by the general. There were several grades of them, the highest being the *primipilani*, or the six centurions of the first cohort, which was the largest and most distinguished, "the grenadier company" of the legion. These *primipilani* were admitted to the councils of war.

Besides the cavalry and the *velites*, there was a corps of smiths and engineers attached to the legion, commanded by an officer called the *praefectus fabrum*.

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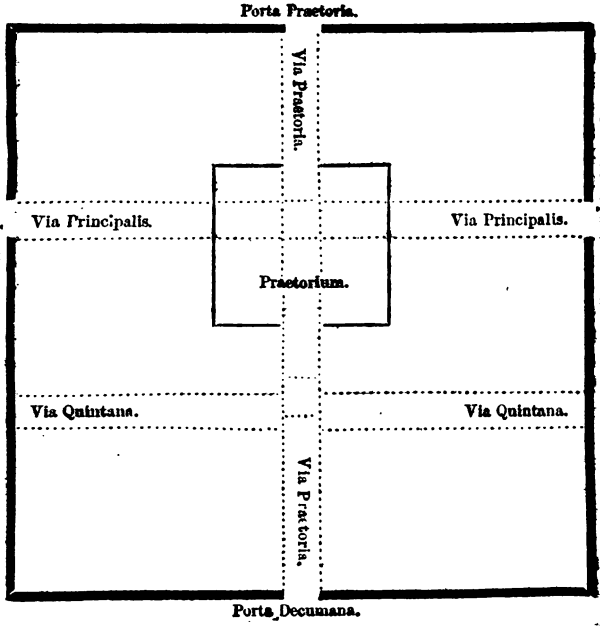
Camp-followers (*calones*) and traders or sutlers (*lixae*) completed the accompaniments of a Roman legion.

No Roman army ever bivouacked for a single night without forming an entrenched camp. Each soldier did his share, and the work was soon done. It was invariably posted on rising ground, chosen by centurions sent forward towards the end of the march. Two lines were first drawn, one lengthwise, The Roman camp.

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called the *decumanus maximus*, one breadthwise, the *cardo maximus*; on either side of the former ran a road of fifty feet in breadth, called the Via Praetoria, ending on the side towards the enemy in the Porta Praetoria or Extraordinaria, on the other side in the Porta Decumana; on either side of the latter line was the Via Principalis, one hundred feet broad, with its two gates, the Porta Principalis dextra and sinistra (see Plan, and note that the front of the camp, according to Roman notions, is the side of the Porta Decumana, and therefore the Porta Principalis dextra is on the *left* of the Plan). Parallel to this another road, the Via Quintana, traversed the breadth of the camp, between the Via Principalis and the side on which the Decumana gate lay. Between the Via Principalis and the Via Quintana, in the centre of the camp, was the Praetorium or General's quarters and tent; close to it on the one side was the Forum, where the men assembled to be addressed by the commander from a *suggestus* or platform, and on the other the Quaestor's quarters, where the standards were planted. Right and left, again, were the officers' tents and a body of picked troops, cavalry and infantry. In the rest of the camp were posted the legionaries, *equites*, and auxiliaries; the *impedimenta* and the *lixae* or sutlers were lodged round the outside of the tents. There is a doubt about the exact position of the Praetorium and the Quaestor's quarters, and the arrangements probably differed at different times, but this description and the accompanying Plan will give some idea of the care the Romans bestowed upon their quarters, whether for a winter or for a single night. No tents were placed nearer than two hundred feet from the outer

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edge. Thus the broad streets and broad skirts were a safeguard against confusion and panic in case of attack, as well as a protection against fire and missiles from without. The camp was surrounded by a rampart (*vallum*) of earth and a ditch (*fossa*). These of course varied much in size and strength. If a long stay had to be made, or an attack expected, the defences were far more elaborate and formidable. Further lines of trenches were dug, containing buried spikes of wood and iron balls with prickly spikes; from the rampart projected *cervi*, trees with their branches lopped and spiked and hardened by fire; on the top of the rampart were erected breastworks (*loricae*) of palisades (*valli*) or wattle (*crates*), and battlements (*pinnae*) of the same materials; while at frequent intervals rose towers of wood two or three stages high, each stage filled with soldiers with all manner of engines and missiles. The artillery (*tormenta*) consisted of large engines of the crossbow kind, their springs being formed of ropes or twisted hair or sinews of wild beasts. The commonest kinds were the *catapultae* and *ballistae*. To protect the artillerymen pent-houses and galleries (*testudines, vineae*) of wood and hide were constructed. For assault, besides the battering-ram, they used long hooks and poles, and mines (*cuniculi*). But the usual method of attacking a tower or fortified camp was to cast up an earthwork against it under the protection of *vineae*, and to wheel *turres* near enough for the missiles hurled from them to drive the defenders from the walls and admit of an assault with scaling-ladders (*scalae*). In the latter case the shield *testudo* was often used, formed by the men locking their shields together over their heads, the rear ranks stooping so as to form a pent-

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house up which a storming party could rush, or from under which the wall could be pulled down.

In the winter camps huts (*casae*) took the place of tents, and were thatched with straw or reeds (*stramenta*). The men were quartered ten to each hut, and formed a *contubernium* or mess.

## § 3. The Gauls.

When, in ages that written records tell us nothing of, Europe was peopled by the various families of the great Aryan or Indo-Germanic race, to which all the great nations of it at the present day belong, one family, nearly allied to the Italian, passed on beyond the rich peninsulas of Greece and Italy which attracted their kinsmen, and, advancing due westward, settled in the lands that now form Spain, France, Belgium, England, Scotland, Ireland. This family was the Celtic, and to it the Gauls belonged. They were a strong and populous race; and when they had crossed the Channel to the adjacent island and found beyond only the Atlantic, as years, probably centuries, went on and their youth grew more and more numerous, they flowed back in the direction from which they had come, and appeared as hordes of unknown barbarians to the Italians, the Greeks, and even the people of Asia Minor, where they conquered and peopled Galatia.

They were of the same race then as the Highland Scotch, the Irish, and the Welsh. When the Romans had conquered the Provincia, they knew a little more of this tall, light-haired, blue-eyed race; but still not much is known before Caesar's time, and this makes his account of them and their institutions the more interesting and valuable.

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They do not seem to have had a history as other nations: for they were a roving, unsettled race, who could never settle down and form an organized united nation, with a code of law and a united government. They have shaken all States, says the great Roman historian Mommsen, but have founded none. Their own special historian, Thierry, describes them as personally brave above other nations, intelligent but restless, impetuous but wanting in perseverance, discipline, and order; boundlessly vain, and therefore ever at discord with one another. Cato said of them that they studied two things only, fighting and wit. The Celts of Ireland to-day seem to have retained much of this ancient character. So impressionable were the Gauls that it was often forbidden to tell news except to the magistrates of a township. If any one interrupted a public speaker, a large hole was cut in his coat to mark the disturber of the peace. They were lazy husbandmen, and made the least of the soil; they delighted and excelled in rhetoric and ballad poetry; they were superstitious and priest-ridden; they were clever and amiable, but they lacked the qualities that could produce great statesmen or good citizens. They were led by chiefs or nobles, whose assembly Caesar, using the Roman term, calls a Senate, the occupation of whose lives was war. There was no middle class, peaceable and loving freedom and law and order; no free peasantry. The soil was tilled by serfs whose ambition and happiness it was to become the retainers of a successful chieftain. As Caesar says, there were only two classes—the *equites*, that is the nobles, and the Druids; the rest were slaves. In the Druids, indeed, lay some hope of unity. Their religion, whatever its origin, was not

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the primitive belief of the race. That belief, as Caesar hints, was in gods representing elemental powers, not differing essentially from the gods of the Latin and the Greek race, and of the Germans. The creed of the Druids was more like the Mysteries of Eleusis or the more respectable of the religions of the East. They taught the immortality of the soul, and in a way possessed some culture and science.

We do not know the origin of Druidism, but in Caesar's time its position was strangely like that of the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages. The Druids were exempt from taxes, could judge offences against morality, and excommunicate offenders. They belonged to no particular class, but filled their ranks from young men who came to learn their doctrines and wisdom and enter their priesthood. They had their head-quarters in Great Britain, and their authority was great, and invested with all the terrors of superstition and mysticism. They burnt human beings as sacrifices to the gods, enclosing them in great wicker images of human form. Their great council, held yearly, was the nearest approach to a general assembly of the nation which Gaul possessed. But Churchmen are apt to care more for their order than their country, and the Druids seem to have sided at first at any rate with Caesar; nor had they the power to make of the Gauls a strong and united nation. So far was the spirit of faction and rivalry carried that, as we shall see, Caesar says every household even was divided into two parties.

In person the Gaul was fair-skinned and blue-eyed, with red or yellow hair, with long beard, and of tall stature. They wore breeches (*braccae*) of tartan or plaid, a shirt, and jacket or short cloak.

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They were fond of gold collars, bracelets and rings, which were worn by both sexes. In the South the Romans had taught them the tilling of the soil and the culture of the olive and other fruits, but for the most part they lived on the cattle of their natural pastures or the swine of their forests. The low-lands of Belgium supplied an excellent breed of horses. Their drink was milk, beer (*cervisium*), and mead. They possessed some skill as miners and workers in metal.

The tribes who inhabited the country fall into three large groups:—1. Gallia Celtica, which lay between the Seine and Marne on the North, and the Garonne and the Roman Province on the South, and extended from the Atlantic to the Rhine. This was by far the largest group: to it belonged the three great rival tribes of the Arverni, Sequăni, and Aedui. 2. Aquitania, the smallest group, lay between the Garonne, the Province, and the Pyrenees. Here there was a considerable mixture of Iberian blood, but we know less of them, as Caesar did not visit them personally. 3. Gallia Belgica, which extended from the borders of Gallia Celtica to the Northern Ocean and the English Channel, and was bounded on the East by the Rhine. These tribes were believed to be nearer of kin to the Teutonic nation of the Germans across the Rhine: a sufficient account of them has been given on p. xv. These groups differed, Caesar says, in dialect, customs, and laws, but we cannot say to what extent. What Caesar says probably applies most strictly to the true Celts of Gallia Celtica, of which the Romans knew most.

The whole population probably amounted in Caesar's time to seven millions of souls. Each tribe, or *civitas*, as Caesar calls it, contained so many *pagi* or districts, and each *pagus* so many *vici*

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or villages. A few principal towns existed in each *civitas*, called *urbes* or *oppida*, the latter implying some amount of fortification. Their dwellings were of wood and large; they were especially skilled in building walls of timber and stone and earth combined, which resisted admirably the battering-ram and fire of besiegers.

As soldiers they were brave and impetuous, but they lacked steadiness and above all endurance. Their cavalry was good, and they made useful auxiliaries and light-armed troops. They were the "soldiers of fortune" of antiquity. Their arms were lances, light spears, bows and slings; their armour, helmet, large round shield, breastplate, or coat of mail, a Gallic invention. They killed all prisoners, and were much given to wild songs and battle-cries, and taunts and challenges to the enemy.

## § 4. The Germans.

The Germans belonged not to the Celtic but to the great Teutonic race which peopled Central and Northern Europe. It is the race to which Englishmen belong, and, though known in Caesar's time very vaguely, it was to have a great future. Unlike the Gauls, they had the capacity for development into a settled nation; and when, 500 years later, they broke over the Western Empire and occupied all Spain, France, and Northern Italy, they adopted portions of the Roman laws and culture, and founded the States which form the Europe of to-day. As we have seen, it was the danger of such an irruption, first revealed to Rome in the days of Marius by the Cimbri and the Teutones, that is the only justification of the Roman conquest of Gaul. In later tmesi, under the Empire, we learn much more of

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A GAULISH HORSEMAN.

*To face p.* xxx.

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them. Tacitus has given us an invaluable account of all that he could learn of their tribes, their character, and their country. Interesting as Caesar's story is, it is vague and legendary. He is careful, as always, not to mislead us, nor to represent it as more historical than it is. Even the names of the tribes are confusing. Caesar's Suevi are probably really the Chatti. But how interesting and romantic his scanty record is! We long to know more of the dim Hercynian Forest, the end of which no man had ever reached, with its reindeer and elks and huge oxen, whose fossil bones are still found, confirming the main features of Caesar's work. We find that Caesar has marked, as Tacitus did, the absence of a priesthood, like the Druids, their simple manners, their pure life, the well-spring of their perpetual youth. We see in his pages the strange devices of the great drinking horns which our Saxon forefathers prized as highly as Caesar's Suevi; and we find the custom of the mark, by which no man could claim any part of the plough-land as his own inalienable property, fully developed, and helping to keep up the independent, adventurous spirit which made the whole nation ever ready to move on where fortune led them, and which, dying out slowly among the early English as agriculture and civilized life advanced, has still left us traces in the village commons of the present day. To the German race seems to have been confided the task of regenerating the Western world, and devising the settled forms of free and strong government for all time; and here we have what little light could be thrown upon them in their infancy by the greatest personage of the freest and strongest form of government the world up to that time had ever seen.

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# GAI IULI CAESARIS DE BELLO GALLICO

## COMMENTARIUS QUINTUS.

### REVOLT OF THE NORTHERN TRIBES AND ATTACK ON THE WINTER CAMPS OF THE LEGIONS. 54–53 B.C.

The winter quarters, 24, 25. Destruction of the cohorts under Sabinus and Cotta, 26–37. Quintus Cicero besieged, and relieved by Caesar, 38–52. Labienus attacked by the Treveri and Indutiomarus, 53–58.

**24.** Subductis navibus concilioque Gallorum Samarobrivae peracto, quod eo anno frumentum in Gallia propter siccitates angustius provenerat, coactus est aliter ac superioribus annis exercitum in hibernis conlocare legionesque in plures civitates distribuere. Ex quibus unam in Morinos ducendam Gaio Fabio legato dedit, alteram in Nervios Quinto Ciceroni, tertiam in Esubios Lucio Roscio; quartam in Remis cum Tito Labieno in confinio Treverorum hiemare iussit; tres in Belgis conlocavit; his Marcum Crassum quaestorem et Lucium Munatium Plancum et Gaium Trebonium legatos praefecit. Unam legio-

Caesar quarters his legions for the winter, B.C. 54–53.



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nem, quam proxime trans Padum conscripserat, et cohortes v in Eburones, quorum pars maxima est inter Mosam ac Rhenum, qui sub imperio Ambiorigis et Catuvolci erant, misit. His militibus Quintum Titurium Sabinum et Lucium Aurunculeium Cottam legatos praeesse iussit. Ad hunc modum distributis legionibus facillime inopiae frumentariae sese mederi posse existimavit. Atque harum tamen omnium legionum hiberna praeter eam, quam Lucio Roscio in pacatissimam et quietissimam partem ducendam dederat, milibus passuum centum continebantur. Ipse interea, quoad legiones conlocatas munitaque hiberna cognovisset, in Gallia morari constituit.

**25.** Erat in Carnutibus summo loco natus Tasgetius, cuius maiores in sua civitate regnum obtinuerant. Huic Caesar pro eius virtute atque in se benevolentia, quod in omnibus bellis singulari eius opera fuerat usus, maiorum locum restituerat. Tertium iam hunc annum regnantem inimici multis palam ex civitate auctoribus, interfecerunt. Defertur ea res ad Caesarem. Ille veritus, quod ad plures pertinebat, ne civitas eorum impulsu deficeret, Lucium Plancum cum legione ex Belgio celeriter in Carnutes proficisci iubet ibique hiemare, quorumque opera cognoverat Tasgetium interfectum, hos comprehensos ad se mittere. Interim ab omnibus legatis quaestoreque, quibus legiones tradiderat, certior factus est, in hiberna perventum locumque hibernis esse munitum.

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**26.** Diebus circiter xv, quibus in hiberna ventum est, initium repentini tumultus ac defectionis ortum est ab Ambiorige et Catuvoloo; qui, cum ad fines regni sui Sabino Cottaeque praesto fuissent frumentumque in hiberna comportavissent, Indutiomari Treveri nuntiis impulsi suos concitaverunt subitoque oppressis lignatoribus magna manu ad castra oppugnatum venerunt. Cum celeriter nostri arma cepissent vallumque adscendissent atque una ex parte Hispanis equitibus emissis equestri proelio superiores fuissent, desperata re hostes suos ab oppugnatione reduxerunt. Tum suo more conclamaverunt, uti aliqui ex nostris ad conloquium prodirent: habere sese, quae de re communi dicere vellent, quibus rebus controversias minui posse sperarent.

Sabinus and Cotta are attacked by the Eburones.

**27.** Mittitur ad eos conloquendi causa Gaius Arpineius eques Romanus, familiaris Quinti Titurii, et Quintus Iunius ex Hispania quidam, qui iam ante missu Caesaris ad Ambiorigem ventitare consuerat; apud quos Ambiorix ad hunc modum locutus est: Sese pro Caesaris in se beneficiis plurimum ei confiteri debere, quod eius opera stipendio liberatus esset, quod Aduatucis, finitimis suis, pendere consuesset, quodque ei et filius et fratris filius ab Caesare remissi essent, quos Aduatuci obsidum numero missos apud se in servitute et catenis tenuissent; neque id, quod fecerit de oppugnatione castrorum, aut iudicio aut voluntate sua fecisse, sed coactu civitatis, suaque esse eiusmodi

The Gauls parley.



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imperia, ut non minus haberet iuris in se multitudo, quam ipse in multitudinem. Civitati porro hanc fuisse belli causam, quod repentinae Gallorum coniurationi resistere non potuerit. Id se facile ex humilitate sua probare posse, quod non adeo sit imperitus rerum, ut suis copiis populum Romanum superari posse confidat. Sed esse Galliae commune consilium: omnibus hibernis Caesaris oppugnandis hunc esse dictum diem, ne qua legio alterae legioni subsidio venire posset. Non facile Gallos Gallis negare potuisse, praesertim cum de recuperanda communi libertate consilium initum videretur. Quibus quoniam pro pietate satisfecerit, habere nunc se rationem officii pro beneficiis Caesaris: monere, orare Titurium pro hospitio, ut suae ac militum saluti consulat. Magnam manum Germanorum conductam Rhenum transisse; hanc adfore biduo. Ipsorum esse consilium, velintne prius, quam finitimi sentiant, eductos ex hibernis milites aut ad Ciceronem aut ad Labienum deducere, quorum alter milia passuum circiter quinquaginta, alter paulo amplius ab iis absit. Illud se polliceri et iureiurando confirmare, tutum iter per fines daturum. Quod cum faciat, et civitati sese consulere, quod hibernis levetur, et Caesari pro eius meritis gratiam referre. Hac oratione habita discedit Ambiorix.

A council of war.

**28.** Arpineius et Iunius, quae audierunt, ad legatos deferunt. Illi repentina re perturbati, etsi ab hoste ea dicebantur, tamen non neglegenda existimabant, maximeque hac re

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permovebantur, quod civitatem ignobilem atque humilem Eburonum sua sponte populo Romano bellum facere ausam vix erat credendum. Itaque ad consilium rem deferunt, magnaque inter eos existit controversia. Lucius Aurunculeius compluresque tribuni militum et primorum ordinum centuriones nihil temere agendum neque ex hibernis iniussu Caesaris discedendum existimabant; quantasvis copias etiam Germanorum sustineri posse munitis hibernis docebant: rem esse testimonio, quod primum hostium impetum multis ultro vulneribus inlatis fortissime sustinuerint; re frumentaria non premi; interea et ex proximis hibernis et a Caesare conventura subsidia; postremo quid esse levius aut turpius, quam auctore hoste de summis rebus capere consilium?

**29.** Contra ea Titurius sero facturos clamitabat, cum maiores manus hostium adiunctis Germanis convenissent, aut cum aliquid calamitatis in proximis hibernis esset acceptum. Brevem consulendi esse occasionem. Caesarem arbitrari profectum in Italiam; neque aliter Carnutes interficiendi Tasgetii consilium fuisse capturos, neque Eburones, si ille adesset, tanta contemptione nostri ad castra venturos esse. Non hostem auctorem, sed rem spectare: subesse Rhenum; magno esse Germanis dolori Ariovisti mortem et superiores nostras victorias; ardere Galliam tot contumeliis acceptis sub populi Romani imperium redactam, superiore

The generals disagree.

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gloria rei militaris extincta. Postremo quis hoc sibi persuaderet, sine certa re Ambiorigem ad eiusmodi consilium descendisse? Suam sententiam in utramque partem esse tutam: si nihil esset durius, nullo periculo ad proximam legionem perventuros; si Gallia omnis cum Germanis consentiret, unam esse in celeritate positam salutem. Cottae quidem atque eorum, qui dissentirent, consilium quem habere exitum? in quo si non praesens periculum, at certe longinqua obsidione fames esset timenda.

**30.** Hac in utramque partem disputatione habita, cum a Cotta primisque ordinibus acriter resisteretur, *Vincite*, inquit, *si ita vultis*, Sabinus, et id clariore voce, ut magna pars militum exaudiret; *neque ea sum*, inquit, *qui gravissime ex vobis mortis periculo terrear: hi sapient; si gravius quid acciderit, abs te rationem reposcent; qui, si per te liceat, perendino die cum proximis hibernis coniuncti communem cum reliquis belli casum sustineant, non reiecti et relegati longe ab ceteris aut ferro aut fame intereant.*

The counsel of the enemy is adopted.

**31.** Consurgitur ex consilio; comprehendunt utrumque et orant, ne sua dissensione et pertinacia rem in summum periculum deducant: facilem esse rem, seu maneant, seu proficiscantur, si modo unum omnes sentiant ac probent; contra in dissensione nullam se salutem perspicere. Res disputatione ad mediam noctem perducitur. Tandem dat Cotta permotus manus; superat sententia Sabini. Pronuntiatur, prima luce ituros.

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Consumitur vigiliis reliqua pars noctis, cum sua quisque miles circumspiceret, quid secum portare posset, quid ex instrumento hibernorum relinquere cogeretur. Omnia excogitantur, quare nec sine periculo maneatur et languore militum et vigiliis periculum augeatur. Prima luce sic ex castris proficiscuntur, ut quibus esset persuasum, non ab hoste, sed ab homine amicissimo Ambiorige consilium datum, longissimo agmine maximisque impedimentis.

**32.** At hostes, posteaquam ex nocturno fremitu vigiliisque de profectione eorum senserunt, conlocatis insidiis bipertito in silvis opportuno atque occulto loco a milibus passuum circiter duobus Romanorum adventum expectabant, et cum se maior pars agminis in magnam convallem demisisset, ex utraque parte eius vallis subito se ostenderunt novissimosque premere et primos prohibere ascensu atque iniquissimo nostris loco proelium committere coeperunt. The ambuscade.

**33.** Tum demum Titurius, qui nihil ante providisset, trepidare et concursare cohortesque disponere, haec tamen ipsa timide atque ut eum omnia deficere viderentur; quod plerumque iis accidere consuevit, qui in ipso negotio consilium capere coguntur. At Cotta, qui cogitasset, haec posse in itinere accidere, atque ob eam causam profectionis auctor non fuisset, nulla in re communi saluti deerat: et in appellandis cohortandisque militibus imperatoris et in pugna

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militis officia praestabat. Cum propter longitudinem agminis minus facile omnia per se obire et, quid quoque loco faciendum esset, providere possent, iusserunt pronuntiare, ut impedimenta relinquerent atque in orbem consisterent. Quod consilium etsi in eiusmodi casu reprehendendum non est, tamen incommode accidit: nam et nostris militibus spem minuit et hostes ad pugnandum alacriores effecit, quod non sine summo timore et desperatione id factum videbatur. Praeterea accidit, quod fieri necesse erat, ut vulgo milites ab signis discederent, quae quisque eorum carissima haberet, ab impedimentis petere atque arripere properaret, clamore et fletu omnia complerentur.

**34.** At barbaris consilium non defuit. Nam duces eorum tota acie pronuntiare iusserunt, ne quis ab loco discederet: illorum esse praedam atque illis reservari, quaecumque Romani reliquissent: proinde omnia in victoria posita existimarent. Nostri tametsi ab duce et a fortuna deserebantur, tamen omnem spem salutis in virtute ponebant, et quotiens quaeque cohors procurrerat, ab ea parte magnus numerus hostium cadebat. Qua re animadversa Ambiorix pronuntiari iubet, ut procul tela coniciant neu propius accedant et, quam in partem Romani impetum fecerint, cedant: levitate armorum et cotidiana exercitatione nihil iis noceri posse; rursus se ad signa recipientes insequantur.

The battle.

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**35.** Quo praecepto ab iis diligentissime observato, cum quaepiam cohors ex orbe excesserat atque impetum fecerat, hostes velocissime refugiebant. Interim eam partem nudari necesse erat et ab latere aperto tela recipi. Rursus, cum in eum locum, unde erant egressi, reverti coeperant, et ab iis, qui cesserant, et ab iis, qui proximi steterant, circumveniebantur; sin autem locum tenere vellent, nec virtuti locus relinquebatur, neque ab tanta multitudine coniecta tela conferti vitare poterant. Tamen tot incommodis conflictati, multis vulneribus acceptis resistebant et magna parte diei consumpta, cum a prima luce ad horam octavam pugnaretur, nihil, quod ipsis esset indignum, committebant. Tum Tito Balventio, qui superiore anno primum pilum duxerat, viro forti et magnae auctoritatis, utrumque femur tragula traicitur; Quintus Lucanius, eiusdem ordinis, fortissime pugnans, dum circumvento filio subvenit, interficitur; Lucius Cotta legatus omnes cohortes ordinesque adhortans in adversum os funda vulneratur.

**36.** His rebus permotus Quintus Titurius, cum procul Ambiorigem suos cohortantem conspexisset, interpretem suum Gnaeum Pompeium ad eum mittit rogatum, ut sibi militibusque parcat. Ille appellatus respondit: Si velit secum conloqui, licere; sperare, a multitudine impetrari posse, quod ad militum salutem pertineat; ipsi vero nihil nocitum iri, inque eam rem se suam fidem

Murder of Sabinus.

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interponere. Ille cum Cotta saucio communicat, si videatur, pugna ut excedant et cum Ambiorige una conloquantur: sperare, ab eo de sua ac militum salute impetrari posse. Cotta se ad armatum hostem iturum negat atque in eo perseverat.

**37.** Sabinus, quos in praesentia tribunos militum circum se habebat, et primorum ordinum centuriones se sequi iubet et, cum propius Ambiorigem accessisset, iussus arma abicere imperatum facit suisque, ut idem faciant, imperat. Interim, dum de condicionibus inter se agunt longiorque consulto ab Ambiorige instituitur sermo, paulatim circumventus interficitur. Tum vero suo more victoriam conclamant atque ululatum tollunt impetuque in nostros facto ordines perturbant. Ibi Lucius Cotta pugnans interficitur cum maxima parte militum. Reliqui se in castra recipiunt, unde erant egressi. Ex quibus Lucius Petrosidius aquilifer, cum magna multitudine hostium premeretur, aquilam intra vallum proiecit, ipse pro castris fortissime pugnans occiditur. Illi aegre ad noctem oppugnationem sustinent; noctu ad unum omnes desperata salute se ipsi interficiunt. Pauci ex proelio elapsi incertis itineribus per silvas ad Titum Labienum legatum in hiberna perveniunt atque eum de rebus gestis certiorem faciunt.

The massacre.

**38.** Hac victoria sublatus Ambiorix statim cum equitatu in Aduatucos, qui erant eius regno finitimi, proficiscitur; neque noctem neque

Rebellion.

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diem intermittit peditatumque sese subsequi iubet. Re demonstrata Aduatucisque concitatis, postero die in Nervios pervenit hortaturque, ne sui in perpetuum liberandi atque ulciscendi Romanos pro iis, quas acceperint, iniuriis occasionem dimittant: interfectos esse legatos duos magnamque partem exercitus interisse demonstrat; nihil esse negotii, subito oppressam legionem, quae cum Cicerone hiemet, interfici; se ad eam rem profitetur adiutorem. Facile hac oratione Nerviis persuadet.

**39.** Itaque confestim dimissis nuntiis ad Ceutrones, Grudios, Levacos, Pleumoxios, Geidumnos, qui omnes sub eorum imperio sunt, quam maximas manus possunt, cogunt et de improviso ad Ciceronis hiberna advolant, nondum ad eum fama de Titurii morte perlata. Huic quoque accidit, quod fuit necesse, ut nonnulli milites, qui lignationis munitionisque causa in silvas discessissent, repentino equitum adventu interciperentur. His circumventis, magna manu Eburones, Nervii, Aduatuci atque horum omnium socii et clientes legionem oppugnare incipiunt. Nostri celeriter ad arma concurrunt, vallum conscendunt. Aegre is dies sustentatur, quod omnem spem hostes in celeritate ponebant atque hanc adepti victoriam in perpetuum se fore victores confidebant.

**40.** Mittuntur ad Caesarem confestim ab Cicerone litterae, magnis propositis praemiis, si pertulissent; obsessis omnibus viis missi in- Q. Cicero is besieged.

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tercipiuntur. Noctu ex materia, quam munitionis causa comportaverant, turres admodum cxx excitantur incredibili celeritate; quae deesse operi videbantur, perficiuntur. Hostes postero die multo maioribus coactis copiis castra oppugnant, fossam complent. Eadem ratione, qua pridie, ab nostris resistitur. Hoc idem reliquis deinceps fit diebus. Nulla pars nocturni temporis ad laborem intermittitur; non aegris, non vulneratis facultas quietis datur. Quaecumque ad proximi diei oppugnationem opus sunt, noctu comparantur; multae praeustae sudes, magnus muralium pilorum numerus instituitur; turres contabulantur, pinnae loricaeque ex cratibus attexuntur. Ipse Cicero, cum tenuissima valetudine esset, ne nocturnum quidem sibi tempus ad quietem relinquebat, ut ultro militum concursu ac vocibus sibi parcere cogeretur.

41. Tunc duces principesque Nerviorum, qui aliquem sermonis aditum causamque amicitiae cum Cicerone habebant, conloqui sese velle dicunt. Facta potestate, eadem, quae Ambiorix cum Titurio egerat, commemorant: omnem esse in armis Galliam; Germanos Rhenum transisse; Caesaris reliquorumque hiberna oppugnari. Addunt etiam de Sabini morte; Ambiorigem ostentant fidei faciendae causa. Errare eos dicunt, si quicquam ab his praesidii sperent, qui suis rebus diffidant; sese tamen hoc esse in Ciceronem populumque Romanum animo, ut nihil nisi hiberna recusent atque hanc inveterascere consuetudinem

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nolint; licere illis incolumibus per se ex hibernis discedere et, quascumque in partes velint, sine metu proficisci. Cicero ad haec unum modo respondit: non esse consuetudinem populi Romani, accipere ab hoste armato condicionem: si ab armis discedere velint, se adiutore utantur legatosque ad Caesarem mittant; sperare pro eius iustitia, quae petierint, impetraturos.

**42.** Ab hac spe repulsi Nervii vallo pedum IX et fossa pedum XV hiberna cingunt. Haec et superiorum annorum consuetudine ab nobis cognoverant et, quos de exercitu habebant captivos, ab his docebantur, sed nulla ferramentorum copia, quae esset ad hunc usum idonea, gladiis cespites circumcidere, manibus sagulisque terram exhaurire nitebantur. Qua quidem ex re hominum multitudo cognosci potuit: nam minus horis tribus milium passuum XV in circuitu munitionem perfecerunt, reliquisque diebus turres ad altitudinem valli, falces testudinesque, quas idem captivi docuerant, parare ac facere coeperunt.

**43.** Septimo oppugnationis die maximo coorto vento ferventes fusili ex argilla glandes fundis et fervefacta iacula in casas, quae more Gallico stramentis erant tectae, iacere coeperunt. Hae celeriter ignem comprehenderunt et venti magnitudine in omnem locum castrorum distulerunt. Hostes maximo clamore, sicuti parta iam atque explorata victoria, turres testudinesque

The Gauls assault the camp.

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agere et scalis vallum ascendere coeperunt. At tanta militum virtus atque ea praesentia animi fuit, ut, cum undique flamma torrerentur maximaque telorum multitudine premerentur suaque omnia impedimenta atque omnes fortunas conflagrare intellegerent, non modo demigrandi causa de vallo decederet nemo, sed paene ne respiceret quidem quisquam, ac tum omnes acerrime fortissimeque pugnarent. Hic dies nostris longe gravissimus fuit; sed tamen hunc habuit eventum, ut eo die maximus numerus hostium vulneraretur atque interficeretur, ut se sub ipso vallo constipaverant recessumque primis ultimi non dabant. Paulum quidem intermissa flamma et quodam loco turri adacta et contingente vallum, tertiae cohortis centuriones ex eo, quo stabant, loco recesserunt suosque omnes removerunt, nutu vocibusque hostes, si introire vellent, vocare coeperunt; quorum progredi ausus est nemo. Tum ex omni parte lapidibus coniectis deturbati, turris-que succensa est.

An incident of the siege.

**44.** Erant in ea legione fortissimi viri, centuriones, qui primis ordinibus adpropinquarent, Titus Pulio et Lucius Vorenus. Hi perpetuas inter se controversias habebant, quinam anteferretur, omnibusque annis de locis summis simultatibus contendebant. Ex his Pulio, cum acerrime ad munitiones pugnaretur, *Quid dubitas,* inquit, *Vorene? aut quem locum tuae probandae virtutis expectas? hic dies de nostris controversiis iudicabit.* Haec

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cum dixisset, procedit extra munitiones, quaeque pars hostium confertissima est visa, ea inrumpit. Ne Vorenus quidem sese vallo continet, sed omnium veritus existimationem subsequitur. Mediocri spatio relicto Pulio pilum in hostes immittit atque unum ex multitudine procurrentem traicit; quo percusso et exanimato, hunc scutis protegunt, in hostem tela universi coniciunt neque dant regrediendi facultatem. Transfigitur scutum Pulioni et verutum in balteo defigitur. Avertit hic casus vaginam et gladium educere conanti dextram moratur manum, impeditumque hostes circumsistunt. Succurrit inimicus illi Vorenus et laboranti subvenit. Ad hunc se confestim a Pulione omnis multitudo convertit; illum veruto arbitrantur occisum. Gladio comminus rem gerit Vorenus atque uno interfecto reliquos paulum propellit; dum cupidius instat, in locum deiectus inferiorem concidit. Huic rursus circumvento fert subsidium Pulio, atque ambo incolumes compluribus interfectis summa cum laude sese intra munitiones recipiunt. Sic fortuna in contentione et certamine utrumque versavit, ut alter alteri inimicus auxilio salutique esset, neque diiudicari posset, uter utri virtute anteferendus videretur.

**45.** Quanto erat in dies gravior atque asperior oppugnatio, et maxime quod magna parte militum confecta vulneribus res ad paucitatem defensorum pervenerat, tanto crebriores litterae nuntiique ad Caesarem mittebantur; quorum pars deprehensa in

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conspectu nostrorum militum cum cruciatu necabatur. Erat unus intus Nervius nomine Vertico, loco natus honesto, qui a prima obsidione ad Ciceronem perfugerat suamque ei fidem praestiterat. Hic servo spe libertatis magnisque persuadet praemiis, ut litteras ad Caesarem deferat. Has ille in iaculo inligatas effert et Gallus inter Gallos sine ulla suspicione versatus ad Caesarem pervenit. Ab eo de periculis Ciceronis legionisque cognoscitur.

Caesar hears of the danger and forms his plans.

**46.** Caesar acceptis litteris hora circiter undecima diei statim nuntium in Bellovacos ad M. Crassum quaestorem mittit, cuius hiberna aberant ob eo milia passuum XXV; iubet media nocte legionem proficisci celeriterque ad se venire. Exit cum nuntio Crassus. Alterum ad Gaium Fabium legatum mittit, ut in Atrebatum fines legionem adducat, qua sibi scit iter faciendum. Scribit Labieno, si reipublicae commodo facere posset, cum legione ad fines Nerviorum veniat. Reliquam partem exercitus, quod paulo aberat longius, non putat expectandam; equites circiter quadringentos ex proximis hibernis colligit.

**47.** Hora circiter tertia ab antecursoribus de Crassi adventu certior factus, eo die milia passuum XX procedit. Crassum Samarobrivae praeficit legionemque attribuit, quod ibi impedimenta exercitus, obsides civitatum, litteras publicas frumentumque omne, quod eo tolerandae hiemis causa devexerat, relinquebat. Fabius, ut imperatum

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non ita multum moratus, in itinere cum legione occurrit. Labienus, interitu Sabini et caede cohortium cognita, cum omnes ad eum Treverorum copiae venissent, veritus, si ex hibernis fugae similem profectionem fecisset, ut hostium impetum sustinere posset, praesertim quos recenti victoria efferri sciret, litteras Caesari remittit, quanto cum periculo legionem ex hibernis educturus esset, rem gestam in Eburonibus perscribit, docet, omnes peditatus equitatusque copias Treverorum tria milia passuum longe ab suis castris consedisse.

**48.** Caesar consilio eius probato, etsi opinione trium legionum deiectus ad duas redierat, tamen unum communis salutis auxilium in celeritate ponebat. Venit magnis itineribus in Nerviorum fines. Ibi ex captivis cognoscit, quae apud Ciceronem gerantur quantoque in periculo res sit. Tum cuidam ex equitibus Gallis magnis praemiis persuadet, uti ad Ciceronem epistolam deferat. Hanc Graecis conscriptam litteris mittit, ne intercepta epistola nostra ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur. Si adire non possit, monet, ut tragulam cum epistola ad amentum deligata intra munitionem castrorum abiciat. In litteris scribit, se cum legionibus profectum celeriter adfore; hortatur, ut pristinam virtutem retineat. Gallus periculum veritus, ut erat praeceptum, tragulam mittit. Haec casu ad turrim adhaesit neque ab nostris biduo animadversa tertio die a quodam milite conspicitur, dempta ad Ciceronem defertur. Ille perlectam in

Caesar's march to the rescue.



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conventu militum recitat maximaque omnes laetitia adficit. Tum fumi incendiorum procul videbantur, quae res omnem dubitationem adventus legionum expulit.

**49.** Galli re cognita per exploratores obsidionem relinquunt, ad Caesarem omnibus copiis contendunt. Haec erant armata circiter milia LX. Cicero data facultate Gallum ab eodem Verticone, quem supra demonstravimus, repetit, qui litteras ad Caesarem deferat; hunc admonet, iter caute diligenterque faciat; perscribit in litteris, hostes ab se discessisse omnemque ad eam multitudinem convertisse. Quibus litteris circiter media nocte Caesar adlatis suos facit certiores eosque ad dimicandum animo confirmat. Postero die luce prima movet castra et circiter milia passuum quattuor progressus trans vallem et rivum multitudinem hostium conspicatur. Erat magni periculi res, tantulis copiis iniquo loco dimicare; tum, quoniam obsidione liberatum Ciceronem sciebat, aequo animo remittendum de celeritate existimabat. Consedit et, quam aequissimo loco potest, castra communit atque haec, etsi erant exigua per se, vix hominum milium septem, praesertim nullis cum impedimentis, tamen angustiis viarum, quam maxime potest, contrahit eo consilio, ut in summam contemptionem hostibus veniat. Interim speculatoribus in omnes partes dimissis explorat, quo commodissime itinere valles transiri possit.

The Gauls are enticed to a battle.

**50.** Eo die parvulis equestribus proeliis ad aquam

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factis utrique sese suo loco continent, Galli, quod ampliores copias, quae nondum convenerant, expectabant, Caesar, si forte timoris simulatione hostes in suum locum elicere posset, ut citra vallem pro castris proelio contenderet; si id efficere non posset, ut exploratis itineribus minore cum periculo vallem rivumque transiret. Prima luce hostium equitatus ad castra accedit proeliumque cum nostris equitibus committit. Caesar consulto equites cedere seque in castra recipere iubet; simul ex omnibus partibus castra altiore vallo muniri portasque obstrui atque in his administrandis rebus quam maxime concursari et cum simulatione agi timoris iubet.

**51.** Quibus omnibus rebus hostes invitati copias traducunt aciemque iniquo loco constituunt, nostris vero etiam de vallo deductis, propius accedunt et tela intra munitionem ex omnibus partibus coniciunt praeconibusque circummissis pronuntiari iubent, seu quis Gallus seu Romanus velit ante horam tertiam ad se transire, sine periculo licere; post id tempus non fore potestatem; ac sic nostros contempserunt, ut, obstructis in speciem portis, singulis ordinibus cespitum, quod ea non posse introrumpere videbantur, alii vallum manu scindere, alii fossas complere inciperent. Tum Caesar omnibus portis eruptione facta equitatuque emisso celeriter hostes in fugam dat, sic uti omnino pugnandi causa resisteret nemo, magnumque ex eis numerum occidit atque omnes armis exuit.



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**52.** Longius prosequi veritus, quod silvae paludesque intercedebant neque etiam parvulo detrimento illorum locum relinqui videbat, omnibus suis incolumibus copiis eodem die ad Ciceronem pervenit. Institutas turres, testudines munitionesque hostium admiratur; legione producta cognoscit, non decimum quemque esse reliquum militem sine vulnere: ex his omnibus iudicat rebus, quanto cum periculo et quanta cum virtute res sint administratae. Ciceronem pro eius merito legionemque conlaudat; centuriones singillatim tribunosque militum appellat, quorum egregiam fuisse virtutem testimonio Ciceronis cognoverat. De casu Sabini et Cottae certius ex captivis cognoscit. Postero die contione habita rem gestam proponit, milites consolatur et confirmat: quod detrimentum culpa et temeritate legati sit acceptum, hoc aequiore animo ferendum docet, quod, beneficio deorum immortalium et virtute eorum expiato incommodo, neque hostibus diutina laetatio neque ipsis longior dolor relinquatur.

The relief of Cicero's camp.

**53.** Interim ad Labienum per Remos incredibili celeritate de victoria Caesaris fama perfertur, ut, cum ab hibernis Ciceronis milia passuum abesset circiter LX, eoque post horam nonam diei Caesar pervenisset, ante mediam noctem ad portas castrorum clamor oreretur, quo clamore significatio victoriae gratulatioque ab Remis Labieno fieret. Hac fama ad Treveros per-

How Labienus fared among the Treveri.

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lata, Indutiomarus, qui postero die castra Labieni oppugnare decreverat, nocte profugit copiasque omnes in Treveros reducit. Caesar Fabium cum sua legione remittit in hiberna, ipse cum tribus legionibus circum Samarobrivam trinis hibernis hiemare constituit et, quod tanti motus Galliae extiterant, totam hiemem ipse ad exercitum manere decrevit. Nam illo incommodo de Sabini morte perlato omnes fere Galliae civitates de bello consultabant, nuntios legationesque in omnes partes dimittebant et, quid reliqui consilii caperent atque unde initium belli fieret, explorabant nocturnaque in locis desertis concilia habebant. Neque ullum fere totius hiemis tempus sine sollicitudine Caesaris intercessit, quin aliquem de consiliis ac motu Gallorum nuntium acciperet. In his ab Lucio Roscio, quem legioni tertiaedecimae praefecerat, certior factus est, magnas Gallorum copias earum civitatum, quae Aremoricae appellantur, oppugnandi sui causa convenisse neque longius milia passuum octo ab hibernis suis afuisse, sed nuntio allato de victoria Caesaris discessisse, adeo ut fugae similis discessus videretur.

**54.** At Caesar principibus cuiusque civitatis ad se evocatis alias territando, cum se scire, quae fierent, denuntiaret, alias cohortando magnam partem Galliae in officio tenuit. Tamen Senones, quae est civitas imprimis firma et magnae inter Gallos auctoritatis, Cavarinum, quem Caesar apud eos regem constituerat, cuius

The revolt is nipped in the bud.

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frater Moritasgus adventu in Galliam Caesaris, cuiusque maiores regnum obtinuerant, interficere publico consilio conati, cum ille praesensisset ac profugisset, usque ad fines insecuti regno domoque expulerunt et, missis ad Caesarem satisfaciendi causa legatis, cum is omnem ad se senatum venire iussisset, dicto audientes non fuerunt. Tantum apud homines barbaros valuit, esse aliquos repertos principes inferendi belli, tantamque omnibus voluntatum commutationem attulit, ut praeter Aeduos et Remos, quos praecipuo semper honore Caesar habuit, alteros pro vetere ac perpetua erga populum Romanum fide, alteros pro recentibus Gallici belli officiis, nulla fere civitas fuerit non suspecta nobis. Idque adeo haud scio mirandumne sit, cum conpluribus aliis de causis, tum maxime, quod ei, qui virtute belli omnibus gentibus praeferebantur, tantum se eius opinionis deperdidisse, ut a populo Romano imperia perferrent, gravissime dolebant.

Indutiomarus still mises the standard of rebellion;

**55.** Treveri vero atque Indutiomarus totius hiemis nullum tempus intermiserunt, quin trans Rhenum legatos mitterent, civitates sollicitarent, pecunias pollicerentur, magna parte exercitus nostri interfecta multo minorem superesse dicerent partem. Neque tamen ulli civitati Germanorum persuaderi potuit, ut Rhenum transiret, cum se bis expertos dicerent, Ariovisti bello et Tencterorum transitu: non esse amplius fortunam temptaturos. Hac spe lapsus

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Indutiomarus nihilo minus copias cogere, exercere, a finitimis equos parare, exules damnatosque tota Gallia magnis praemiis ad se allicere coepit. Ac tantam sibi iam his rebus in Gallia auctoritatem comparaverat, ut undique ad eum legationes concurrerent, gratiam atque amicitiam publice privatimque peterent.

**56.** Ubi intellexit, ultro ad se veniri, altera ex parte Senones Carnutesque conscientia facinoris instigari, altera Nervios Aduatucosque bellum Romanis parare, neque sibi voluntariorum copias defore, si ex finibus suis progredi coepisset, armatum concilium indicit. Hoc more Gallorum est initium belli: quo lege communi omnes puberes armati convenire consuerunt; qui ex iis novissimus convenit, in conspectu multitudinis omnibus cruciatibus affectus necatur. In eo concilio Cingetorigem, alterius principem factionis, generum suum, quem supra demonstravimus Caesaris secutum fidem ab eo non discessisse, hostem iudicat bonaque eius publicat. His rebus confectis in concilio pronuntiat, accersitum se a Senonibus et Carnutibus aliisque compluribus Galliae civitatibus; huc iturum per fines Remorum eorumque agros populaturum ac, priusquam id faciat, castra Labieni oppugnaturum. Quae fieri velit, praecipit.

**57.** Labienus, cum et loci natura et manu munitissimis castris sese teneret, de suo ac legionis periculo nihil timebat, ne quam occasionem rei

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bene gerendae dimitteret, cogitabat. Itaque a Cingetorige atque eius propinquis oratione Indutiomari cognita, quam in concilio habuerat, nuntios mittit ad finitimas civitates equitesque undique evocat: his certum diem conveniendi dicit. Interim prope cotidie cum omni equitatu Indutiomarus sub castris eius vagabatur, alias ut situm castrorum cognosceret, alias conloquendi aut territandi causa; equites plerumque omnes tela intra vallum coniciebant. Labienus suos intra munitionem continebat timorisque opinionem, quibuscumque poterat rebus, augebat.

attacks Labienus, falls into a trap, and is killed.

The rebellion collapses.

**58.** Cum maiore in dies contemptione Indutiomarus ad castra accederet, nocte una intromissis equitibus omnium finitimarum civitatum, quos accersendos curaverat, tanta diligentia omnes suos custodiis intra castra continuit, ut nulla ratione ea res enuntiari aut ad Treveros perferri posset. Interim ex consuetudine cotidiana Indutiomarus ad castra accedit atque ibi magnam partem diei consumit; equites tela coniciunt et magna cum contumelia verborum nostros ad pugnam evocant. Nullo ab nostris dato responso, ubi visum est, sub vesperum dispersi ac dissipati discedunt. Subito Labienus duabus portis omnem equitatum emittit; praecipit atque interdicit, proterritis hostibus atque in fugam coniectis—quod fore, sicut accidit, videbat—unum omnes peterent Indutiomarum, neu quis quem prius vulneret, quam illum interfectum viderit, quod mora

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reliquorum spatium nactum illum effugere nolebat; magna proponit iis, qui occiderint, praemia; summittit cohortes equitibus subsidio. Comprobat hominis consilium fortuna, et cum unum omnes peterent, in ipso fluminis vado deprehensus Indutiomarus interficitur caputque eius refertur in castra; redeuntes equites, quos possunt, consectantur atque occidunt. Hac re cognita omnes Eburonum et Nerviorum, quae convenerant, copiae discedunt, pauloque habuit post id factum Caesar quietiorem Galliam.

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# GAI IULI CAESARIS

# DE BELLO GALLICO

## COMMENTARIUS SEXTUS.

### GAUL AND GERMANY COMPARED.

General view of the factions and parties in Gaul, 11, 12. The Druids, 13, 14. The Nobles, 15. Religion of the Gauls, 16–18. Customs of the Gauls, 19, 20. Manners and customs of the Germans, 21–24. Description of the Hercynian Forest, 25–28.

**11.** QUONIAM ad hunc locum perventum est, non alienum esse videtur, de Galliae Germaniaeque moribus et, quo differant hae nationes inter sese, proponere. In Gallia non solum in omnibus civitatibus atque in omnibus pagis partibusque, sed paene etiam in singulis domibus factiones sunt, earumque factionum principes sunt, qui summam auctoritatem eorum iudicio habere existimantur, quorum ad arbitrium iudiciumque summa omnium rerum consiliorumque redeat. Itaque eius rei causa antiquitus institutum videtur, ne quis ex plebe contra potentiorem auxilii

Gaul and Germany compared. Factions and parties in Gaul.

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egeret: suos enim quisque opprimi et circumveniri non patitur, neque, aliter si faciat, ullam inter suos habet auctoritatem. Haec eadem ratio est in summa totius Galliae: namque omnes civitates in partes divisae sunt duas.

**12.** Cum Caesar in Galliam venit, alterius factionis principes erant Aedui, alterius Sequani. Hi cum per se minus valerent, quod summa auctoritas antiquitus erat in Aeduis magnaeque eorum erant clientelae, Germanos atque Ariovistum sibi adiunxerant eosque ad se magnis iacturis pollicitationibusque perduxerant. Proeliis vero compluribus factis secundis atque omni nobilitate Aeduorum interfecta tantum potentia antecesserant, ut magnam partem clientium ab Aeduis ad se transducerent obsidesque ab iis principum filios acciperent et publice iurare cogerent, nihil se contra Sequanos consilii inituros, et partem finitimi agri per vim occupatam possiderent Galliaeque totius principatum obtinerent. Qua necessitate adductus Divitiacus auxilii petendi causa Romam ad senatum profectus imperfecta re redierat. Adventu Caesaris facta commutatione rerum, obsidibus Aeduis redditis, veteribus clientelis restitutis, novis per Caesarem comparatis, quod hi, qui se ad eorum amicitiam adgregaverant, meliore condicione atque aequiore imperio se uti videbant, reliquis rebus eorum gratia dignitateque amplificata, Sequani principatum dimiserant. In eorum locum Remi suc-

The rivals for supremacy, Aedui and Sequani.

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cesserant; quos quod adaequare apud Caesarem gratia intellegebatur, ii, qui propter veteres inimicitias nullo modo cum Aeduis coniungi poterant, se Remis in clientelam dicabant. Hos illi diligenter tuebantur: ita et novam et repente collectam auctoritatem tenebant. Eo tum statu res erat, ut longe principes haberentur Aedui, secundum locum dignitatis Remi obtinerent.

13. In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo: nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco, quae nihil audet per se, nullo adhibetur consilio; plerique, cum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut iniuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus; in hos eadem omnia sunt iura, quae dominis in servos. Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est druidum, alterum equitum. Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur: ad eos magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrit, magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore. Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt, et si quod est admissum facinus, si caedes facta, si de hereditate, si de finibus controversia est, idem decernunt, praemia poenasque constituunt; si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, hi numero impiorum ac sceleratorum

The Druids.

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habentur, his omnes decedunt, aditum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant, neque his petentibus ius redditur neque honos ullus communicatur. His autem omnibus druidibus praecst unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo aut, si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit, aut, si sunt plures pares, suffragio druidum, nonnunquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt. Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regio totius Galliae media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato. Huc omnes undique, qui controversias habent, conveniunt eorumque decretis iudiciisque parent. Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur, et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.

**14.** Druides a bello abesse consuerunt neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt, militiae vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati praemiis et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque annos nonnulli vicenos in disciplina permanent. Neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Graecis litteris utantur. Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur, quod neque in vulgum disciplinam efferri velint neque eos, qui discunt, litteris confisos minus memoriae studere; quod fere

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plerisque accidit, ut praesidio litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant. Inprimis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios, atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant et iuventuti tradunt.

**15.** Alterum genus est equitum. Hi, cum est usus atque aliquod bellum incidit—quod fere ante Caesaris adventum quotannis accidere solebat, uti aut ipsi iniurias inferrent aut inlatas propulsarent,—omnes in bello versantur, atque eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habet. Hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt. The nobles.

**16.** Natio est omnium Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus, atque ob eam causam, qui sunt adfecti gravioribus morbis quique in proeliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant aut se immolaturos vovent administrisque ad ea sacrificia druidibus utuntur, quod, pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur, publiceque eiusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia. Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent; quibus succensis circumventi Religion of the Gauls.

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flamma exanimantur homines. Supplicia eorum, qui in furto aut in latrocinio aut aliqua noxa sint comprehensi, gratiora dis immortalibus esse arbitrantur; sed cum eius generis copia defecit, etiam ad innocentium supplicia descendunt.

**17.** Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt. Huius sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc Apollinem et Martem et Iovem et Minervam. De his eandem fere, quam reliquae gentes, habent opinionem: Apollinem morbos depellere, Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia tradere, Iovem imperium caelestium tenere, Martem bella regere. Huic, cum proelio dimicare constituerunt, ea, quae bello ceperint, plerumque devovent; cum superaverunt, animalia capta immolant reliquasque res in unum locum conferunt. Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos tumulos locis consecratis conspicari licet; neque saepe accidit, ut neglecta quispiam religione aut capta apud se occultare aut posita tollere auderet, gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est.

**18.** Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt; dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies sub-

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sequatur. In reliquis vitae institutis hoc fere ab reliquis differunt, quod suos liberos, nisi cum adoleverunt ut munus militiae sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur filiumque puerili aetate in publico in conspectu patris adsistere turpe ducunt.

Marriage and funeral customs.

**19.** Viri, quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis aestimatione facta cum dotibus communicant. Huius omnis pecuniae coniunctim ratio habetur fructusque servantur; uter eorum vita superarit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum temporum pervenit. Viri in uxores, sicuti in liberos, vitae necisque habent potestatem; et cum paterfamiliae inlustriore loco natus decessit, eius propinqui conveniunt et, de morte si res in suspicionem venit, de uxoribus in servilem modum quaestionem habent et, si compertum est, igni atque omnibus tormentis excruciatas interficiunt. Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica et sumptuosa; omniaque, quae vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia, ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, iustis funeribus confectis una cremabantur.

Laws against gossiping.

**20.** Quae civitates commodius suam rempublicam administrare existimantur, habent legibus sanctum, si quis quid de republica a finitimis rumore aut fama acceperit, uti ad magistratum deferat neve cum quo alio communicet,

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quod saepe homines temerarios atque imperitos falsis rumoribus terreri et ad facinus impelli et de summis rebus consilium capere cognitum est. Magistratus, quae visa sunt, occultant, quaeque esse ex usu iudicaverunt, multitudini produnt. De re publica nisi per concilium loqui non conceditur.

**21.** Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt. Nam neque druides habent, qui rebus divinis praesint, neque sacrificiis student. Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus iuvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam, reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt. Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit; ab parvulis labori ac duritiae student. Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali vires nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vicessimum feminae notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus. Pellibus aut parvis renonum tegimentis utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda.

The Germans. Manners and customs.

**22.** Agriculturae non student, maiorque pars eorum victus in lacte, caseo, carne consistit. Neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios, sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui tum una coierunt, quantum et quo loco visum est agri, adtribuunt atque anno post alio transire cogunt. Eius rei multas adferunt causas: ne adsidua consuetudine



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capti studium belli gerendi agricultura commutent; ne latos fines parare studeant potentioresque humiliores possessionibus expellant; ne accuratius ad frigora atque aestus vitandos aedificent; ne qua oriatur pecuniae cupiditas, qua ex re factiones dissensionesque nascuntur; ut animi aequitate plebem contineant, cum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis aequari videat.

**23.** Civitatibus maxima laus est quam latissime circum se vastatis finibus solitudines habere. Hoc proprium virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere neque quemquam prope audere consistere; simul hoc se fore tutiores arbitrantur, repentinae incursionis timore sublato. Cum bellum civitas aut inlatum defendit aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello praesint, ut vitae necisque habeant potestatem, deliguntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos ius dicunt controversiasque minuunt. Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quae extra fines cuiusque civitatis fiunt, atque ea iuventutis exercendae ac desidiae minuendae causa fieri praedicant. Atque ubi quis ex principibus in concilio dixit, se ducem fore, qui sequi velint, profiteantur, consurgunt ii, qui et causam et hominem probant, suumque auxilium pollicentur atque ab multitudine conlaudantur; qui ex his secuti non sunt, in desertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur, omniumque his rerum postea fides derogatur. Hospitem violare fas non

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putant; qui quacumque de causa ad eos venerunt, ab iniuria prohibent, sanctos habent, hisque omnium domus patent victusque communicatur.

**24.** Ac fuit antea tempus, cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam trans Rhenum colonias mitterent. Itaque ea, quae fertilissima Germaniae sunt, loca circum Hercyniam silvam, quam Eratostheni et quibusdam Graecis fama notam esse video, quam illi Orcyniam appellant, Volcae Tectosages occupaverunt atque ibi consederunt; quae gens ad hoc tempus his sedibus sese continet summamque habet iustitiae et bellicae laudis opinionem. Nunc quod in eadem inopia, egestate patientiaque Germani permanent, eodem victu et cultu corporis utuntur, Gallis autem provinciarum propinquitas et transmarinarum rerum notitia multa ad copiam atque usus largitur, paulatim adsuefacti superari multisque victi proeliis, ne se quidem ipsi cum illis virtute comparant.

The Germans contrasted with the Gauls for bravery.

**25.** Huius Hercyniae silvae, quae supra demonstrata est, latitudo novem dierum iter expedito patet; non enim aliter finiri potest, neque mensuras itinerum noverunt. Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum finibus rectaque fluminis Danuvii regione pertinet ad fines Dacorum et Anartium; hinc se flectit sinistrorsus diversis ab flumine regionibus multarumque gentium

The Hercynian forest.



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fines propter magnitudinem adtingit; neque quisquam est huius Germaniae, qui se aut adisse ad initium eius silvae dicat, cum dierum iter LX processerit, aut, quo ex loco oriatur, acceperit, multaque in ea genera ferarum nasci constat, quae reliquis in locis visa non sint; ex quibus quae maxime differant ab ceteris et memoriae prodenda videantur, haec sunt.

**26.** Est bos cervi figura, cuius a media fronte inter aures unum cornu existit excelsius magisque directum his, quae nobis nota sunt, cornibus; ab eius summo sicut palmae ramique late diffunduntur. Eadem est feminae marisque natura, eadem forma magnitudoque cornuum.

Its denizens: the reindeer;

**27.** Sunt item, quae appellantur alces. Harum est consimilis capris figura et varietas pellium, sed magnitudine paulo antecedunt mutilaeque sunt cornibus et crura sine nodis articulisque habent, neque quietis causa procumbunt neque, si quo adflictae casu conciderunt, erigere sese aut sublevare possunt. His sunt arbores pro cubilibus: ad eas se adplicant atque ita paulum modo reclinatae quietem capiunt. Quarum ex vestigiis cum est animadversum a venatoribus, quo se recipere consuerint, omnes eo loco aut ab radicibus subruunt aut accidunt arbores tantum, ut summa species earum stantium relinquatur. Huc cum se consuetudine reclinaverunt, infirmas arbores pondere adfligunt atque una ipsae concidunt.

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**28.** Tertium est genus eorum, qui uri appellantur. Hi sunt magnitudine paulo infra elephantos, specie et colore et figura tauri. Magna vis eorum est et magna velocitas, neque homini neque ferae, quam conspexerunt, parcunt. Hos studiose foveis captos interficiunt. Hoc se labore durant adolescentes atque hoc genere venationis exercent, et qui plurimos ex his interfecerunt, relatis in publicum cornibus, quae sint testimonio, magnam ferunt laudem. Sed adsuescere ad homines et mansuefieri ne parvuli quidem excepti possunt. Amplitudo cornuum et figura et species multum a nostrorum boum cornibus differt. Haec studiose conquisita ab labris argento circumcludunt atque in amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur.

Bos primigenius.

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# NOTES.

N.B.—P. means Public School Latin Primer.

## BOOK V.

### PAGE 1.

CHAP. 24.—line 1. **subductis**, 'drawn up on shore' for the winter, to be drawn down again on rollers when the spring equinox was past. Cf. Horace's *trahuntque siccas machinae carinas.*

**concilio.** Assemblies of the whole nation were a recognized institution in Gaul; one is mentioned Bk. i. 30. 4, for which Caesar's permission was asked. He seems afterwards to have summoned them himself and presided at them, treating all tribes who did not send representatives as rebels: v. 2. 4; vi. 3. 4.

**Samarobriva**, on the Samara (see Map); now Amiens, from the Ambiani, in whose territory it was: *briva* means 'bridge,' Samara is the Somme, so Samarobriva = Sommebridge.

l. 3. **siccitates.** Notice the plural: so *frigora*, 12. 6.

**angustius.** *Angustus* means literally 'narrow:' we use 'scanty' both of space and of produce.

l. 4. **aliter ac.** *Ac* means 'than' or 'as' when joined with *alius, similis, aeque, perinde,* and comparatives.

l. 6. **plures**, 'several.'

For the tribes mentioned here and for the positions of the camp study the Map carefully. It is some help to memory to note that the names of many of the tribes have been preserved in the name of what was once their principal town. The name

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of the tribe was always given after the name of the town, and the name of the tribe alone has survived. So Lutetia Parisiorum is now Paris. The Treveri survive in Trèves (German Trier); the Senones in Sens; the Ambiani in Amiens; the Remi in Rheims; the Atrebates in Arras; the Suessiones in Soissons; the Carnutes in Chartres.

l. 7. **Gaio Fabio legato.** See Introd., p. xviii.

l. 8. **Nervii.** See Introd., p. xv.

**Quinto Ciceroni.** See Introd., p. xvii.

l. 9. **Lucio Roscio.** See Introd., p. xviii.

l. 10. **Tito Labieno.** See Introd., p. xvi.

l. 11. **Marcum Crassum quaestorem.** See Introd., p. xvii.

l. 12. **Plancum.** See Introd., p. xviii.

l. 13. **Trebonium.** See Introd., p. xviii.

## PAGE 2.

line 1. **proxime,** 'lately,' an adverb of place, here used of time.

l. 2. **cohortes v**; *i.e.* half a legion.

**Eburones.** See Introd., p. xv.

l 5. **Sabinum . . . Cottam.** See Introd., p. xvii.

l. 7. **mederi** governs dative, 'to remedy:' *medicus, medicina* are from the same root.

l. 11. **continebantur.** This does not mean that they were included within a circuit of 100 miles, for several of the camps were farther apart than this, as the Map will show, but that no camp was more than 100 miles from some other. It should be remembered that the Roman mile (*mille passuum*) was shorter by 144 yards than the English.

l. 12. **quoad . . . cognovisset,** 'until such time as he should have learnt;' and therefore in subjunctive mood. P. App. II. Compound Construction, iv. 2.

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l. 15. CHAP. 25.—**obtinuerant**, 'had held,' *not* 'had obtained;' **regnum**, 'chieftainship.'

l. 16. **eius** refers to Tasgetius, **se** to Caesar. In English, on the contrary, we say 'for his own worth, and his good-will towards him.'

l. 17. **singulari . . . usus est**, 'had found his aid peculiarly serviceable.'

l. 19. **regnantem**, 'when he was now in the third year of his rule.' Notice the *present* participle: in Latin we must say *iamdudum hoc facio* for 'I have been doing it this long while.'

**inimici**, private enemies, instigated by many public men of the tribe who hated Tasgetius as the Roman nominee. Caesar and Pompey were *inimici;* the Romans and Carthaginians, *hostes. Auctor* means 'supporter,' 'backer;' so here 'instigator.'

l. 21. **quod ad plures pertinebat**, 'as many were implicated.'

l. 24. **quorumque . . . hos.** In Latin the relative clause comes first. We should say 'to apprehend and deliver to him those by whose instigation he had now learned that Tasgetius had been murdered.' Notice that the nominative to *cognoverat* is Caesar: it states the fact, and does not mean 'those whom Plancus should discover to be his murderers,' which would require the subj.

l. 27. **quaestoreque**, Crassus: see chap. 24, ll. 11, 12; and Introd., p. xvii.

## PAGE 3.

line 1. CHAP. 26.—**Diebus**: ablative of time within which. P. § 120.

l. 2. **tumultus**, 'an outbreak.'

l. 5. **praesto**, an adverb.

l. 6. **Indutiomari**, genitive depending on *nuntiis.* ***Treveri*** is a genitive agreeing with *Indutiomari.*

l. 8. **oppugnatum**, the supine.

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l. 10. **vallum**: see Introd., p. xxv.

**Hispanis**. For the use made of Spaniards, Africans, and other provincials in the Roman army, see Introd., p. xxi.

l. 12. **hostes**, nominative; **suos**, 'their troops.'

l. 16. **posse**: *possum* after verbs of hoping is always in the present, not the future infinitive. Why?

l. 21. CHAP. **27.**—**ventitare**, frequentative from *venio*. P. § 71.

**consuerat**, pluperf., contracted form from *consuesco*.

**apud quos**, 'to whom.' Note *apud me*, *chez moi*, 'at my house;' *apud Ciceronem*, 'in Cicero.' *Apud*, *ad*, and ἐπί are probably from the same root.

l. 24. **stipendio**, 'tribute,' from *stips*, 'a small coin,' and *pendo*, 'to weigh,' 'to pay;' it is contracted for *stipipendium*.

## PAGE 4

line 1. **ut non minus**, &c. Theirs was what we call a limited monarchy; both ruler and people had their rights and privileges, and the ruler must obey the supreme will of the people when clearly expressed.

l. 2. **porro**, 'now,' like *or* in French, passes on to a fresh statement.

l. 5. **humilitate**, 'weakness.'

l. 6. **suis copiis**: *suis* is emphatic, 'his own unaided forces.'

l. 7. **confidat** conveys a notion of effrontery: 'to presume.'

l. 9. **alterae**, a form of the fem. dat., not so common as *alteri*. Caesar has *nullo* for *nulli*.

l. 13. **pro pietate**, 'as patriotism required.' *Pro* here means 'in accordance with:' cf. p. 13, l. 7, *pro eius iustitia*. *Pietas* includes all natural affections and duties to which a religious sanction is attached: love to the gods, to parents and relations, and to country. Aeneas was *pius*: Caesar when he crossed the Rubicon was *impius*: *pius* may often be translated 'dutiful.' The English 'pity' is derived from *pietas*.

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l. 14. **officii.** *Officium* is 'duty' as between man and man, and includes all the requirements of honesty, justice, and the like, and the observances of society. When Cicero wrote a treatise on Morals, he entitled it *de Officiis*. An *officiosus* or 'officious person' is one who is over-anxious to show to another the smaller attentions of society at unseasonable times or on insufficient acquaintance. It may be said that the first five commandments are comprehended under the head of *pietas*, the last five under *officium*.

l. 15. **pro hospitio,** 'by their old friendship.' *Hospes* is both guest and entertainer, 'guest-friend.'

l. 16. **conductam,** 'a large band of German mercenaries.' The modern *condottieri* for mercenaries is derived from *conducere*, 'to hire.'

l. 17. **biduo,** 'within two days;' abl. of time. P. § 120: *Quidquid est biduo sciemus.*

l. 20. **milia,** acc. of measure of space. P. § 102: *Erant muri Babylonis ducenos pedes alti.*

l. 23. **per fines**; *i.e.* through his own borders, which extended for about half the distance in either case. See Map.

l. 24. **hibernis levetur,** 'was relieved of the burden of the winter camps.' The tenses of this piece of *oratio obliqua* are worthy of attention. Compare, on the one hand, *fecerit, poterit, confidat, satisfecerit, consulat, velintne, sentiant, absit, faciat, levetur*, with *liberatus esset, remissi essent, tenuissent, haberet, posset videretur.* What would they be in *oratio recta*?

l. 27. CHAP. 28.—**quae audierunt.** Notice that the relative clause comes first, as above, chap. 25, l. 24.

## PAGE 5.

line 4. **consilium,** 'a council of war,' held evidently in the open space before the praetorium. See Introd., p. xxiv. It illustrates Eugène's saying, 'A council of war never fights.'

Distinguish between *consilium*, 'a council' where each member gives his opinion, and *concilium*, 'an assembly' (from *cal-are*, 'to summon,' the root of which appears in *calendae*) called

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together perhaps only to hear a proclamation. See Bk. vi. chap. 13, l. 4, and chap. 20, l. 6.

l. 6. **primorum ordinum centuriones,** also called *primipilares*, the six centurions of the first cohort of the legion. See Introd., p. xxii. The Romans had one legion and five cohorts. Whether one of the five cohorts also counted as a first cohort cannot be ascertained.

l. 7. **iniussu,** 'without the command of.'

l. 8. **quantasvis,** 'no matter how great;' **etiam,** 'even of Germans,' who were far better soldiers than the Gauls. The Romans never conquered the Germans. Caesar made two successful inroads. Varus and his legions were cut to pieces by Arminius (Hermann). Drusus penetrated as far as the Elbe, Probus built a wall from the Main to Ratisbon, and Roman influence predominated in the Black Forest, but the Rhine and the Danube remained the Roman frontier; and while Gaul became Roman in speech and thought and customs, Germany developed her national life and her population, until 500 years after Caesar her wild Goths, Burgundians, Franks, and Vandals, first overwhelmed and then reconstituted the political fabric of the Western Empire.

l. 10. **testimonio,** 'what had already happened was a proof of this'—literally, 'for a proof,' the predicative dative or dative of the purpose, as the P. calls it, § 100: *Exitio est avidum mare nautis.* Notice that this dative must be an abstract word: you can say *est mihi auxilio*, but not *est mihi amico.* Another instance occurs in chap. 29, l. 26, *magno dolori.*

l. 11. **ultro** conveys a notion of 'beyond:' they not only repelled the attack; more than this, they inflicted some loss. Translate here by 'even.'

l. 14. **levius:** *levis* is the opposite of *gravis*, an epithet which summed up all manly virtues. Translate 'more undignified.' Notice that a question is put in the infinitive in *oratio obliqua: quid est* becomes *quid esse.* Cf. *quem habere exitum*, chap. 29, l. 8.

l. 15. **auctore hoste,** 'upon the suggestion of an enemy.'

l. 17. CHAP. 29.—**sero,** 'too late.'

l. 22. **profectum in Italiam.** Italy here means Cisalpine

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Gaul, which, as part of his *provincia*, Caesar visited during almost every winter, either to administer justice or to consult with his friends on the politics of the city.

l. 26. **rem**, 'the facts of their position.'

**magno dolori**: see note on *testimonio*, chap. 28, l. 10.

l. 27. **Ariovisti mortem.** Ariovistus had led the Suevi in the first campaign B.C. 58, and been driven in rout across the Rhine. His death, however, is not recorded in Caesar, and we only infer it from this passage.

PAGE 6.

line 3. **suam**: emphatic.

l. 4. **durius**, 'untoward.' The comparative is used absolutely, meaning 'somewhat harsh:' cf. *si gravius quid acciderit*, chap. 30, l. 16, and Bk. i. chap. 48, § 6.

l. 6. **unam**, 'only.'

l. 8. **quem habere**: see note on *quid esse*, chap. 28, l. 14.

l. 12. CHAP. 30.—**primis ordinibus**, the *primipilares*; see note on chap. 28.

l. 16. **sapient**, 'will know how to judge.'

l. 17. **perendino**, 'the day after to-morrow.' The word *perendies* means literally 't'other day;' the *per* is the same as in the words *peregrinus*, *peregre*, 'foreigner,' 'abroad,' and *perperam*, 'wrongly.' It is connected with *παρά*.

l. 19. **reiecti et relegati**, 'abandoned and exiled.'

l. 21. CHAP. 31.—**consurgitur**, impersonal passive, as is *pronuntiatur* below.

**comprehendunt**, 'seize by the hand.'

l. 28. **dat manus**, 'gives way.' The metaphor is obvious.

PAGE 7.

line 2. **quid . . . posset.** This clause depends on *circumspiceret*: 'to decide what he could take with him.'

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l. 4. **excogitantur**, 'all is expressly so contrived that . . .' Caesar does not mean that this was the real intention, but that the folly was such that it had the appearance of design.

**nec . . . et.** These correspond to one another, as *nec . . . nec*, or *et . . . et*. The *nec* is really = *et non*.

l. 7. **ut quibus esset persuasum**, 'as though they were convinced:' impersonal passive, because *persuadeo* governs a dative, and therefore for 'I am persuaded' we must say *mihi persuasum est*.

l. 9. **agmine**. *Agmen*, from *ago*, is the line of march; *acies*, the line of battle.

l. 13. CHAP. 32.—**bipertito**, an adverb.

l. 14. **a**, 'at a distance of.'

l. 16. **convallis**, a valley closely surrounded by hills, in the bottom of which the Romans were caught.

l. 19. **iniquissimo**, 'most unfavourable.'

l. 21. CHAP. 33.—**tum demum**, 'then and not till then:' cf. *is demum vir bonus est quem semper sui poenitet*, 'he and he only is a good man who is always dissatisfied with himself.'

l. 22. **trepidare**, 'to hurry.'

l. 23. **ut**, 'so that he seemed to have lost his wits.'

l. 25. **in ipso negotio**, 'on the spur of the moment.'

l. 27. **auctor non fuisset**, 'had not supported.'

l. 28. **appellandis**, 'in calling upon the men by name.'

## PAGE 8.

line 2. **omnia per se obire**, 'visit all points in person.'

l. 4. **iusserunt pronuntiare**, 'bade order.' On the other hand, in chap. 34, l. 24, we have *Ambiorix pronuntiari iubet*, 'bade proclamation be made,' which is more usual in English, but not in Latin. The French language always uses the active infinitive in such cases: *il fit proclamer*.

l. 5. **in orbem consisterent**. See Introd., p. xxi.

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l. 16. CHAP. **34.—tota acie**, 'along the line,' ablative of place. P. § 121.

l. 17. **illorum**; that is, the Gauls: possessive genitive. P. § 127.

l. 19. **proinde**, 'therefore.'

l. 20. **existimarent**, 'let them consider.' It would be imperative in *oratio recta*.

**duce**, Sabinus.

l. 25. **neu**, contracted for *neve* = *et ut non*, as *nec* above in chap. 31 = *et non*.

l. 27. **levitate armorum**. The sense is, that the Gauls, being light-armed and in good training, could easily elude the heavily-burdened legionaries, and had nothing to fear from temporary retreat.

l. 28. **posse**. The infinitive depends on 'he said that,' implied in *iubet*. The clause is a parenthesis: *insequantur* takes up the command again, 'let them fall upon.'

## PAGE 9.

line 2. CHAP. **35.—quaepiam**, 'some.' *Quispiam* is a little more emphatic than *quis*, and a little less so than *aliquis*.

l. 4. **necesse erat**. 'Meantime that portion of the square was unavoidably exposed, and javelins poured in on its unprotected flanks.' *Necesse est* does not mean that 'it is necessary' in our sense of the word, but 'it cannot be but that,' 'it is so of necessity.'

l. 6. **coeperant**. Remember that this is not really a pluperfect, like *cesserant* and *steterant*.

l. 10. **conferti**, 'being so closely packed,' from *confercio*.

l. 13. **horam octavam**; *i.e.* about 2 o'clock P.M. The Roman day began at sunrise and ended at sunset, and this time was divided into twelve equal portions, called *horae*, which were of course much longer in winter than in summer. The sixth hour was always noon. The night was divided into four equal portions, called *vigiliae*.

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l. 15. **qui . . . primum pilum duxerat.** The pluperfect seems to show that he was no longer a *primipilaris:* probably he was serving as an *emeritus*, a term applied to veterans who volunteered for further service.

l. 17. **eiusdem ordinis**, a genitive of quality. P. § 128: *Claudius erat somni brevissimi:* always with an adjective; *eiusdem* here is an adjective.

l. 18. **dum . . . subvenit.** Note that *dum*, 'whilst,' takes the present tense.

l. 20. **in adversum os**, 'full in the face.'

l. 27. CHAP. 36.—**impetrari**, dependent on *posse*, 'he hoped it was possible for leave to be obtained.'

## PAGE 10.

line 1. **communicat . . . conloquantur.** Supply in thought after *communicat* 'and suggests.' Translate 'sends word to Cotta and suggests that, if he thinks fit, they should leave the fight and together go to a parley with Ambiorix.' With Cotta's answer compare the similar one of Cicero, chap. 41.

l. 6. CHAP. 37.—**tribunos militum.** See Introd., p. xxii.

l. 8. **propius Ambiorigem.** The adverb *propius* is formed from the preposition *prope*, and retains its power of governing the accusative case: *propior, proximus, pridie*, and *postridie* take the same construction.

l. 21. **Illi**, those who cut their way back into the camp. These all perished: the few who escaped had fled from the field of battle, which was about two miles from the camp. It was a great disaster. Of nearly 5000 men scarcely one escaped to tell the tale; the commanders and officers were all killed. As we read of it, we think of the massacre in the Khyber Pass in 1842, of Isandlana and Rorke's Drift in 1879. There, too, an invading army of civilized troops, in the midst of a barbarous nation, were surprised by the foes they foolishly trusted, or as foolishly despised. The parallel between Roman and English policy towards barbarians is very close. There are the same disregard of national rights and the same excuse, if excuse it can

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be called,—the security of the frontier; the same daring, the same blunders, and the same disasters, retrieved by fresh daring and better generalship. There are two remarkable points of contrast. We do not expect that brave men when surprised should wail like women (*clamore et fletu omnia complerentur*), and yet, if we are tempted to think that because Englishmen would have been silent, therefore the English are made of sterner stuff, we read how the spent remnant after fighting from light to dark killed each other rather than surrender. Not less remarkable is Caesar's narrative of the disaster. Compare these two pages with a passage of Kinglake's 'Crimea,' or Kaye's 'Sepoy War,' or of any modern military history. Caesar's brevity is startling. Yet the literary effect is as successful. We may almost say that with us the historian gives way to emotion, but the soldier does not; with the Romans the soldier shows his feelings, the historian is dispassionate. Note also that Caesar, as always, records the names of every soldier who did anything remarkable. His blame is temperate; there is but one exaggerated word (*excogitantur*, chap. 31). He thought they were wrong to form square, but he does not say so. Sabinus's blunder might have lost Gaul for Rome, and for Caesar his career, yet Caesar is scrupulously fair in giving his excuses, and indulges in no invective against him. But he felt none the less deeply. If we may believe Suetonius, he cut neither hair nor beard until he had avenged his slaughtered soldiers.

l. 22. **ad unum omnes**, 'to a man.'

l. 28. CHAP. 38.—**Aduatucos . . . Nervios.** See Map. He advanced westwards, probably along the line of the Meuse as far as Namur, and then along that of the Sambre, towards Cicero's camp at Charleroi.

## PAGE 11.

line 2. **Re**, 'the engagement.'

l. 3. **sui**, genitive plural, attracted into the case of *liberandi; ulciscendi*, on the contrary, takes the other construction and governs *Romanos*.

l. 7. **nihil esse negotii**: *negotii* gen., depending on *nihil*: cf. *multum pecuniae; quid reliqui consilii*, p. 21, l. 10; *aliquid laboris*.



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l. 8. **interfici,** passive infinitive, depending on *nihil esse negotii:* 'It was an easy task for the legion wintering with Cicero to be surprised and massacred.'

l. 9. **hac oratione,** abl. of the instrument. P. § 112.

l. 11. CHAP. 39.—**Ceutrones . . . Geidumnos.** Small tribes in what is now West Flanders, dependants of the Nervii.

l. 13. **quam maximas,** 'as large as possible:' cf. Greek *ὡς τάχιστα.*

l. 16. **quod fuit necesse.** See note on p. 9, l. 4.

## PAGE 12.

line 1. CHAP. 40.—**materia,** 'timber.'

l. 2. **admodum,** literally, 'up to the amount of;' with numbers means 'at least,' though there is one passage where it seems to mean 'at most.'

l. 4. **multo,** 'by far,' to be construed with *maioribus,* 'far greater.'

l. 7. **deinceps,** 'one after another,' 'continuously.' The termination is the same as in *particeps, princeps: princeps* means that which comes first; *deinceps,* which was originally an adjective, 'that which comes next' (cf. *deinde, dein*).

l. 11. **opus sunt.** *Opus* may be construed with every case except the dative: Caesar might have said *Quorumcunque opus est, quaecumque opus est* (acc.), or *quibuscumque opus est* (abl.). *Quaecunque* here of course is nominative.

**praeustae sudes,** 'stakes with points hardened in the fire.'

l. 12. **pila muralia.** On the *pilum,* see Introd., p. xx. 'Siege pikes' were much longer and heavier, and could only be used with advantage by the defenders of a place who could hurl them down upon their assailants.

l. 13. **contabulantur.** For the construction of *turres,* see Introd., p. xxv., and Plate III., fig. 1.

**pinnae loricaeque.** The *lorica* denotes any kind of breastwork; *pinnae* are notched battlements.

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l. 14. **cratibus.** *Crates* are what we call 'wattle-work,' made of woven osiers.

**tenuissima valetudine:** abl. of quality. The genitive here would denote that he was of *habitually* weak health.

l. 16. **ultro.** See note on chap. 28, l. 11. Translate 'even.'

l. 19. CHAP. 41.—**sermonis aditum:** *aditus* is equivalent to *facultas aditus*, 'who had opportunity for an audience, and reasons for being well disposed towards Caesar.'

l. 21. **potestate,** 'permission.'

**egerat,** 'had urged.' Cf. *Callias egit cum Curione, ut Elpinicen sibi uxorem daret.*

l. 24. **oppugnari.** Notice the present: 'are even now being attacked.'

l. 26. **eos,** Cicero and his troops; **his,** Caesar and the other commanders.

l. 29. **inveterascere,** 'to become an established precedent:' an inceptive verb, formed from the root of *vetus*. P. § 71.

PAGE 13.

line 1. **per se,** 'so far as they (the Gauls) were concerned.'

l. 3. **unum modo,** 'only one thing.'

l. 6. **adiutore,** 'as their pleader.'

l. 7. **pro eius iustitia,** 'such was his sense of justice.'

l. 9. CHAP. 42.—**repulsi,** 'foiled in this plan of deceiving Cicero, as they had deceived Sabinus.'

**vallo pedum . . . xv.:** 'a rampart 9 feet high and a ditch 15 feet wide.' See Bk. ii., chap. 5, *ad fin.*, where a ditch of 22 feet is mentioned, which must be 22 feet in width, not depth. *Pedum* is genitive of quality with epithet: P. § 128.

l. 13. **nulla . . . copia,** an ablative absolute: 'there being no supply of iron implements.'

l. 17. **minus horis tribus.** *Horis* is abl. of time, within which a thing is done: P. § 120. *Minus* is adverbial, as *plus*



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and *amplius* commonly are, and does not affect the construction of *horis*. It is good Latin to say, *Fossa plus quam tres pedes lata*, or *plus tres pedes lata*, or *plus tribus pedibus lata*. The second is most common.

**milium passuum xv.** The extent seems enormous, but Caesar's numbers are always accurate. He says nothing of the depth of the ditch, and this makes calculation difficult. The usual reckoning is, that with a spade a man can excavate 1 cubic yard per hour, and 6 feet is the usual depth for a trench. Fifteen Roman miles = 24,240 yards, and this multiplied by 3 for the depth, and 5 for the width of the trench in yards, gives 242,400 cubic yards as the whole amount excavated in 3 hours, or 80,800 in one hour, which would be the number of men required for the work under ordinary circumstances. We can only guess how many more there must have been to accomplish it with swords for spades and cloaks for barrows. Below Caesar puts the number of fighting men who left the siege to advance against himself at 70,000. In this work of entrenchment no doubt the camp-followers took their part. There was probably some reason, such as the nature of the ground, which made it advisable to draw the lines at a great distance from the Roman ramparts; for a Roman camp for a single legion, even a winter one, could not cover more than a few acres.

l. 19. **ad altitudinem valli**; that is, of the Roman rampart.

**falces.** These were *falces murales*, long poles with iron hooks for pulling down battlements and walls.

**testudines.** See Introd., p. xxv., and Plate III., fig. 6.

l. 23. CHAP. **43.—ferventes fusili ex argilla glandes.** The *glans* was usually a leaden bullet, acorn-shaped at both ends (whence its name), used for slinging. These were presumably of a clay which could be heated to a red heat. *Fusili* must refer to the clay in its cold state, from which the *glandes* were moulded and then heated. Among the ruins of Carthage earthen *glandes*, about 2½ inches long, have been found, which may have been used in this way. They are too light to have done much execution as bullets. Translate 'red-hot bullets made of soft clay.'

l. 24. **fervefacta**: perhaps by tow and pitch wrapped round them.

**casas**, the huts of the winter-quarters.

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l. 28. **parta,** from *pario,* 'accomplished.'

l. 29. **explorata,** 'certain.' Cf. *ut ei iam exploratus et domi conditus consulatus videretur.*

## PAGE 14.

line 6. **demigrandi causa**; *i.e.* a man might leave it to convey a wounded comrade to the rear, but he did not desert his post.

l. 7. **ne respiceret quidem.** *Ne quidem* mean 'not even.' The verb is governed by the *ut* above.

l. 10. **ut,** 'since.'

l. 22. CHAP. 44.—**adpropinquarent.** Subjunctive, because it describes their qualifications: 'so brave that they were on the point of being promoted to the rank of *primipilares.*'

l. 24. **perpetuas,** 'long continued.' Cf. *perpetui tergi bos* (Virgil); *perpetuas vias* (Ovid).

**quinam:** as there are only two parties, we should expect *uter.*

l. 26. **simultatibus,** 'rivalry,' from *simul: simultas* is literally a coming together, conflict of wishes or interests.

l. 28. **locum,** 'opportunity;' as we say 'field.'

## PAGE 15.

line 10. **balteo.** See Introd., p. xix.

l. 12. **inimicus.** See note on chap. 25, l. 19.

l. 13. **laboranti,** 'in difficulty.' A man is said *laborare morbo;* the moon is said *laborare* when in eclipse. Cf. *una laboranti poterit succurrere lunae* (Juvenal).

l. 18. **rursus,** 'in his turn.'

l. 22. **versavit,** 'so balanced them.'

l. 23. **auxilio salutique,** dative of purpose: P. § 108. See note on chap. 28. *testimonio.*

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PAGE 16.

line 2. CHAP. 45.—**unus Nervius,** 'a single tribesman of the Nervii,' not 'one of the Nervii,' which would be *unus e Nerviis*, or *Nervius quidam*. He is a knight, and has brought his followers and servants with him. "There are only two classes in Gaul," says Caesar, "the Knights and the Druids; all the rest are serfs and slaves." See Introd., p. xxvii.

l. 4. **suam fidem praestiterat,** 'had sworn an oath of fidelity to him.'

l. 6. **ille,** *i.e.* the slave.

l. 10. CHAP. 46.—Caesar is still at Samarobriva (chap. 25), and Trebonius's legion is quartered there. Crassus is to the South; Fabius to the North, at St. Pol, near Arras. Crassus is to take Trebonius's place at the important centre of Samarobriva. Caesar takes Trebonius's legion, and trusts to being joined by Fabius on the march. Labienus, if possible, is to approach Cicero from the South, and make a diversion. Look carefully at the Map.

l. 13. **milia passuum xxv,** accusative of measure of space: P. § 102.

l. 18. **si reipublicae commodo facere posset.** *Commodo* is ablative of attendant circumstance. Cf. *exercitum duarum cohortium damno reduxit*, Book vi. chap. 44, § 1. So we say, 'with advantage,' 'with the loss of.' It is akin to the ablative of price: P. § 117.

l. 19. **veniat,** jussive subjunctive, 'writes him word to come.' Notice *veniat*, not *veniret*, though *posset* is past tense. It is more graphic.

l. 20. **longius,** 'too far,' better than 'further,' for Roscius was a good deal further off. The legions meant are those under Roscius among the Essuvii, and under Plancus on the Oise, south of Crassus.

l. 27. CHAP. 47.—**litteras publicas.** These would be the records of Caesar's War Office, the rolls of the legions, itineraries, and information collected. Like all great generals, he was well served by spies, and acted promptly, because his information was full and well considered.

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PAGE 17.

line 4. **veritus ut,** 'fearing that he would not be able.' *Vereor ne veniat,* 'I fear he will come;' *vereor ut veniat,* 'I fear he will *not* come.'

**fugae similem,** closely connected, 'which looked like a flight.'

l. 6. **quos sciret,** subjunctive, because it gives the reason, and does not merely state the fact: 'inasmuch as he knew that they,' &c.

l. 8. **educturus esset.** This sentence is virtually in oblique narration: it states what Labienus said in his letter. In *oratio recta* it would run *magno periculo . . . educam.* P. Appendix II. Compound Construction, § 4.

**rem gestam in Eburonibus;** *i.e.* the massacre of the fifteen cohorts, of which Caesar could have heard no more than a rumour from Cicero's letter.

l. 10. **tria milia passuum,** acc. of measure of space: P. § 102. The ablative is generally used with or without *ab,* to express the distance at which an event takes place: cf. *milibus passuum sex a Caesaris castris sub monte consedit,* Bk. i. chap. 48. The accusative is used loosely, the space traversed being thought of rather than the point reached.

l. 12. CHAP. 48.—**opinione,** 'expectation.' Note that 'opinion' is *sententia* in Latin: *opinio* means 'belief.'

l. 14. **unum . . . auxilium,** 'the only measure that could meet the danger which threatened all.'

l. 15. **magnis itineribus,** abl. of means or instrument: P. § 112.

l. 23. **tragulam,** a heavy javelin, larger than the *verutum* mentioned above; derivation, *traho.* It was hurled by means of a leather thong. **amentum,** from *ago* = *agimentum.*

l. 28. **biduo,** ablative of time within which: P. § 120.

PAGE 18.

line 2. **fumi incendiorum.** A parallel may be mentioned in English history. During the Civil War the Royalists besieged

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Gloucester, and had reduced it to extremities, when the Parliament roused Lord Essex—Fabius Cunctator, as he was nicknamed—to march to its relief. He did so with 14,000 men, starting on Aug. 24, 1643, and on Sept. 4 the besieged heard guns on the Presbury hills, and next morning saw the huts of the besiegers fired and their forces in retreat. This was the only intimation they had.

l. 6. CHAP. 49.—**omnibus copiis,** abl. of attendant circumstance.

l. 7. **contendunt,** 'direct their march.' *Tendo* means 'to stretch' or 'strain,' and the word in this use generally conveys an idea of haste or eagerness, but not always.

**Haec,** *i.e.* the forces. *Haec* agrees with *milia;* cf. hic *labor,* hoc *opus est* (Virg. Aen. vi.).

l. 8. **data facultate,** 'taking the opportunity' afforded him by the withdrawal of the Gauls.

**Gallum,** 'a Gaul;' not the same one, who would hardly risk a return.

l. 10. **repetit,** 'asks once more.'

l. 12. **eum,** Caesar.

l. 13. **convertisse.** Supply *hostes* from the preceding line: *convertisse* is transitive.

l. 15. **animo,** ablative of respect: P. § 116.

l. 17. **trans vallem et rivum,** to be construed with *conspicatur.* What stream we understand by *rivus* must depend on the site assigned to Cicero's camp. If it was at Charleroi, the Haine, a tributary of the Scheldt, above the village of Carnières, corresponds fairly with Caesar's account.

l. 18. **magni periculi,** genitive of quality with epithet: P. § 128.

l. 19. **tantulis copiis,** ablative of attendant circumstance: see note on *reipublicae commodo,* chap. 46, l. 18.

l. 20. **aequo animo,** 'he thought he might slacken his pace without alarm.'

l. 22. **quam aequissimo:** cf. *quam maximas,* chap. 39, and below.

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l. 25. **angustiis viarum,** 'by narrowing the passages' between the tents in the camp. See Introd., p. xxiv.

l. 27. **hostibus** is the dative of the remoter object: 'should come to be an object of supreme contempt to the enemy.'

l. 29. **valles,** nominative to *possit.*

## PAGE 19.

line 3. CHAP. 50.—**si**: not 'to see if,' though the construction is possible, but depending on the sentence *ut . . . contenderet,* just as *si id efficere non posset* depends on *ut . . . transiret.*

l. 4. **citra,** 'on his side of.'

l. 11. **portas obstrui,** by rows of turf piled up, as appears from the following chapter.

l. 12. **concursari . . . agi,** impersonal passives.

l. 14. CHAP. 51.—**invitati,** 'tempted.'

l. 23. **ea,** 'by that way.'

l. 27. **pugnandi causa,** 'to make a fight of it.' A few fought for their lives, perhaps, when surrounded.

## PAGE 20.

line 2. CHAP. 52.—**neque . . . relinqui,** 'and that there was no longer any chance of inflicting the slightest loss upon them': cf. chap. 35, *nec virtute locus relinquebatur.*

l. 7. **producta,** 'being paraded.'

**decimum quemque . . . hominem,** 'each tenth man.' The superlative with *quisque* is a favourite Latin construction: say 'not even one in ten of the whole number.'

l. 16. **quod detrimentum . . . hoc.** See note on chap. 25, *quorumque opera,* &c. *Quod* is the relative agreeing with *detrimentum.*

l. 21. **relinquatur,** subjunctive, because in *oratio obliqua.*

l. 22. CHAP. 53.—**per Remos,** probably 'by means of the Remi,' though it may mean 'through the territory of the Remi.

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The Remi in the North, like the Aedui in the South, were Caesar's firm allies. They remained faithful in the great insurrection under Vercingetorix, when even the Aedui wavered and fell away.

l. 25. **eoque**: *eo*, adverb of place, 'thither.'

## Page 21.

line 4. **cum tribus legionibus**: Trebonius', Crassus', and Plancus', presumably.

l. 5. **trinis**. *Trini* properly means 'three a-piece;' but with nouns that have no plural the distributives, except *singuli*, are used for the cardinals. *Terni*, another form of *trini*, is almost always used in a really distributive sense.

l. 8. **incommodo**, 'reverse;' a euphemistic word.

l. 10. **quid . . . consilii**. See note on chap. 38, *nihil esse negotii*. *Reliqui* is nominative: 'the other tribes.'

l. 14. **intercessit**, 'elapsed.'

**quin**; lit. 'but that he received.' Translate 'without the arrival of some information.'

l. 18. **Aremoricae** = Normandy and Brittany. See Map.

l. 19. **sui**; *i.e.* Roscius. See note on chap. 38, *sui in perpetuum liberandi*.

l. 20. **longius milia passuum**. See note on chap. 42, *mi us horis tribus*.

l. 24. Chap. **54.—alias . . . alias**, adverbs, 'sometimes . . . sometimes.'

l. 26. **in officio**, 'to its allegiance.' See note on chap. 27, *officii*.

## Page 22.

line 2. **obtinuerant**, 'had held,' not 'obtained.'

l. 6. **senatum**. See Introd., p. xxvii.

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l. 7. **dicto audientes,** 'obedient.' *Obedire* itself is a compound of *audio*. *Audiens* here is an adjective: *dicto audire* is never found; *dicto* is a dative of indirect object.

l. 9. **voluntatum commutationem,** 'revulsion of feeling.'

l. 12. **vetere ac perpetua,** 'of long standing and unbroken:' it might have been *vetus*, i.e. of old date, but not continuous. For *perpetua*, see note on chap. 44. The first *alteri* refers to the Aedui.

l. 15. **haud scio mirandumne sit.** *Haud scio an* or *ne* = 'perhaps not:' 'this is perhaps not so much to be wondered at.'

**cum . . . tum,** 'both . . . and.'

l. 16. **qui praeferebantur.** Note *the indicative; it states the fact.*

l. 18. **opinionis,** 'reputation.'

l. 21. **Chap. 55.—quin . . . mitterent.** See note on chap. 53.

l. 22. **sollicitarent,** 'tampered with.'

l. 28. **Ariovisti bello,** the first campaign. See note on p. 5, l. 27.

**Tenoterorum transitu.** See Bk. iv. chaps. 1–15. They with the Usipetes crossed the Rhine in 55 B.C., and were driven back with great slaughter by Caesar.

## Page 23.

line 2. **tota Gallia,** abl. of place where: P. § 121.

l. 8. **Chap. 56.—ultro,** 'unsolicited.'

l. 9. **conscientia facinoris;** *i.e.* the attempted murder of Cavarinus. See chap. 54.

l. 13. **quo,** i.e. *concilio.*

l. 15. **novissimus,** 'last.' So *novissimum agmen* means the 'rear guard;' *novissimus dies,* 'the end of the world,' which in German is called *der jüngste Tag.*

l. 17. **alterius factionis.** See Bk. vi., chap. 11.

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l. 27. CHAP. 57.—**loci natura et manu**, 'by nature and art.'

l. 29. **quam**, indefinite, from *quis*, 'any.'

PAGE 24.

line 8. **alias . . . alias**, adverbs, 'now . . . now,' as above, **chap. 54.**

l. 14. CHAP. 58.—**nocte una**, 'during a single night;' the night of the day appointed for them to assemble, mentioned just above.

**intromissis**, 'admitted.'

l. 15. **accersendos**, from *arcesso*, another form of which is *accerso*.

l. 16. **custodiis**, 'by means of patrols.'

l. 23. **ubi visum est**, 'when they had had enough.'

**sub vesperum**, 'towards evening.'

l. 25. **praecipit atque interdicit.** To *praecipit* belongs the clause *unum omnes peterent Indutiomarum;* to *interdicit*, the clause *neu quis quem prius vulneret*, &c.

l. 27. **sicut accidit**, 'as actually befell.'

l. 28. **quem**, indefinite for *quis*, 'any one.'

l. 29. **mora reliquorum**, 'the delay caused by the pursuit of the rest,' a genitive of author and possessor: P. § 127.

PAGE 25.

line 2. **qui occiderint**, indefinite, and therefore subjunctive: 'any who should have killed him.'

l. 3. **subsidio**, *dative of the predicate* or purpose. See note on chap. 28, *testimonio.*

**comprobat**, &c. 'fortune favoured what human skill devised.'

l. 10. **habuit**, 'found.'

**post id factum.** *Factum* is the participle: for the construction, cf. *ab urbe condita, post homines natos.*

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## BOOK VI.

### PAGE 26.

line 2. CHAP. 11.—**alienum,** 'out of place,' as we say 'foreign to the subject.'

l. 3. **quo,** 'the points in which,' followed by the subjunctive, as being indefinite.

l. 8. **eorum iudicio,** 'in their opinion,' ablative of attendant circumstance, of which the ablative absolute is one form; cf. *mea sententia, iudice te.*

l. 10. **summa . . . redeat,** 'the settlement of all matters of business and all proposals is referred.' The German *bei Rath und That* is a good rendering of *rerum consiliorumque.*

l. 11. **antiquitus,** 'from ancient times.' The termination *-tus* is adverbial, and is the same as the Greek *-θεν*: cf. *coelitus* with *οὐράνοθεν.*

### PAGE 27.

line 3. **in summa,** 'in general.'

l. 4. **totius Galliae** depends upon *ratio.*

l. 12. CHAP. 12.—**iacturis,** 'sacrifices;' *iactura* means literally a casting overboard, to lighten a ship during a storm. The facts are given by Caesar, Bk. i., chap. 31, § 10. Ariovistus and his Germans settled on the best portion of the lands of the Sequani, appropriated one-third of their whole territory at once, and demanded one-third more for some fresh Germans who came to join them.

l. 15. **potentia,** 'influence.' The word differs from *auctoritas: potentia* is the influence of the strong, the wealthy, or the unscrupulous; *auctoritas,* the moral authority of a good or great man. *Potestas* is the official power of the civil magistrate; *imperium,* the command of a general. Ablative of respect: P. § 116.

l. 19. **possiderent,** 'should occupy.'

l. 20. **obtinerent,** 'hold.'

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l. 22. **imperfecta re,** 'with his suit only half granted.'

l. 23. **Aeduis,** dative after *redditis.*

l. 29. **dimiserant,** 'relinquished the supremacy.'

## PAGE 28.

line 1. **adaequare . . . . intellegebatur.** Supply *Aeduos* after *adaequare:* 'and when it was perceived that they rivalled the Aedui in Caesar's favour.'

l. 4. **dicabant,** from *dico, dicare,* which properly means 'to consecrate,' 'to devote.' Cf. the formula of religious consecration in Latin: *do, dico, dedico.*

**illi,** the Remi.

l. 11. CHAP. 13.—**plebes,** nom. sing. Another form of *plebs;* in older Latin it was of the fifth declension.

l. 12. **adhibetur,** 'are consulted.'

l. 13. **aere alieno,** 'debts.'

l. 15. **in hos,** 'over them.'

l. 18. **illi,** 'the former.' Cf. the use of *hic* and *ille: hic* means the nearer, *ille* the remoter in the mind of the speaker.

**intersunt,** 'deal with all religious services.' **procurant,** 'take charge of.'

l. 19. **interpretantur,** 'are the authorities on all matters of conscience.'

l. 20. **disciplinae,** 'study,' 'training.'

l. 21. **magno honore,** ablative of quality with epithet: P. § 117.

l. 23. **admissum,** 'committed.' It is curious to note how our English verbs derived from the Latin commonly have a prefix which is not usual in classical Latin. *Admittere* is 'to commit;' *comprimere,* 'to repress;' *excipere,* 'to receive;' *comprehendere,* 'to apprehend;' *continere,* 'to restrain;' *recipere,* 'to admit;' *concitatus,* 'excited;' *sublatus,* 'elated.'

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l. 25. **idem,** 'it is they again;' i.e. *druides.*

l. 27. **decreto non stetit**; as we say, 'to abide by a decision.'

PAGE 29.

line 1. **decedunt,** 'shrink from.'

l. 4. **communicatur,** 'is shared.'

l. 6. **hoc mortuo . . . succedit,** 'either one succeeds, if any one of the others is of pre-eminent worth, or if several have equal claims . . .'

l. 9. **contendunt.** This can be construed literally only with the latter clause, but it applies to *suffragio druidum* as well. This figure is called *zeugma*. Contrast with *hendiadys*. *Zeugma* says two things by means of one. *Hendiadys* says one thing by means of two. *Pateris libamus et auro* is *hendiadys* for 'golden cups.' Instances of *zeugma* in English occur only in humorous writing. Dickens is very fond of them: 'He bolted his door and his dinner.' 'Mr. Weller then took his hat and his leave.'

l. 13. **disciplina,** 'their sacred lore.'

l. 18. CHAP. 14.—**una,** adverb, to be construed with *cum*, 'together with.'

**militiae vacationem . . habent,** 'enjoy exemption from military service.'

l. 20. **excitati,** 'attracted.'

**in disciplinam conveniunt,** 'come forward to be trained as Druids.'

l. 23. **vicenos,** distributive, 'twenty years each:' acc. of duration of time. P. § 102.

l. 24. **mandare,** 'to entrust.'

l. 25. **cum,** &c., 'although in other matters for the most part, as, for instance, in public and private accounts.' It is thought that the Greek alphabet is meant, not the Greek language.

l. 29. **confisos.** *Confido* is one of the class of verbs which have deponent perfects, like *audeo, soleo, gaudeo,* and therefore a

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**past participle with active signification.** In English, however, we should use the present participle here, 'trusting.'

**memoriae studere.** *Studere* governs the dative. It comes under the head of *dativus commodi:* P. § 107.

## PAGE 30.

line 1. **praesidio,** ablative of the cause: P. § 14.

l. 3. **volunt persuadere.** The construction of *persuadeo* is *hoc mihi persuadeo,* 'I persuade myself of this.' Translate 'they are chiefly anxious to impress the belief.'

l. 5. **excitari,** impersonal passive. The doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls was taught by Pythagoras, who flourished in the sixth century B.C. Pythagorean philosophers were numerous in the Greek colonies of Italy, and no doubt existed at Marseilles, from which colony the Gauls almost certainly derived their knowledge of the Greek alphabet, but it is hardly likely that the central doctrine of the Gaulish religion was derived so late in the history of the nation, or derived at all from a foreign source. The home of Druidism, besides, was Britain, and the intercourse between Marseilles and Britain must have been small indeed. See Introd., p. xxviii.

l. 7. **mundi.** *Mundus* is the whole universe of visible things —earth and sky, sun, moon, and stars.

**de rerum natura** corresponds nearly to our word 'science' as applied to physics, the origin of all things, the laws of their growth and decay. Lucretius called his famous poem which sets forth in Latin verse the doctrines of the philosopher Epicurus, *De Rerum Natura.*

l. 11. CHAP. 15.—**aliquod,** 'some.'

l. 14. **propulsarent.** *Puls-o* is the frequentative of *pello,* formed by adding *-so* to the supine stem: P. § 71. *Versantur* similarly is derived from *verto.*

l. 15. **ut,** 'in proportion as.'

**amplissimus,** 'most distinguished for high birth or wealth.'

l. 16. **ambactos,** 'retainers,' hired mounted servants. Two derivations are given of the word. One makes it a German

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word, from *and*, 'against,' and *bak*, 'back,' the servant who stood behind his lord in battle. If this is correct, probably the adoption of a German word is due to the fact that these retainers were Germans hired for the purpose, and the institution dates only from the time not long before Caesar, when the Germans began to come roving beyond the Rhine. The *ambacti* would therefore correspond to the 'Swiss Guard' of the French kings or the popes. The other derivation is from two Celtic words—*ambi*, 'around,' and *aig* (Latin *agere*), 'to move' = attendants.

l. 17. **Hanc unam, &c.,** 'This is the only form of popularity and influence which they are acquainted with.'

l. 18. **Chap. 16.**—On these human sacrifices, see Introd. p. xxviii.

## Page 31.

line 1. **supplicia,** 'the execution.'

l. 4. **eius generis,** 'of criminals of this class.'

l. 5. **descendunt,** 'they have recourse to.'

l. 13. **Chap. 17.—opinionem,** 'belief.' See note on Bk. v., chap. 48.

l. 20. **conspicari,** deponent from *conspicor*.

l. 23. **ei rei;** as we say, '*for* this offence.'

## Page 32.

line 1. **Chap. 18.—hoc,** 'in this respect.' Caesar is right in both his statements, but wrong in connecting them. They reckoned by nights, as the Germans did, and as the Greeks did originally, and as we do when we talk of 'a fortnight' and reckon each day from midnight onwards, for the simple reason that they reckoned time by the moon. That they were sprung from the earth-god Pluto, is the legendary form taken by the belief common to almost all nations in their barbarous state, that they are the aboriginal inhabitants, and sprung from the earth on which they dwell: cf. the Greek word *αὐτόχθονος*, Latin *indigena*.



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l. 7. CHAP. 19.—**nomine,** 'under the head of.' *Nomen* is an entry in an account-book.

l. 8. **cum dotibus communicant,** 'add to the dowry.'

l. 19. **pro cultu,** 'compared with their social condition,' which was primitive, so that such splendour was not to be expected.

l. 20. **cordi fuisse.** *Cordi esse* means 'to be dear.' It is probably an instance of the predicative dative: see note on *testimonio*, Bk. v. chap. 28.

l. 21. **supra hanc memoriam,** 'before my time:' cf. the use of *hic homo*, common in Plautus and Terence, for 'I.'

l. 23. **iustis funeribus confectis,** 'when the due ceremonies are ended.'

l. 25. CHAP. 20.—**commodius.** We should say 'best:' 'The states which are thought to manage their public affairs best.'

l. 26. **habent . . . sanctum,** 'have a rule laid down by law.' In this not uncommon construction we have the origin of the perfect of all French verbs. *J'ai écrit* is nothing more or less than *ego habeo scriptum.* In Latin it is not the same as the perfect; it expresses the completion and continuance of the thing done. *Sanxerunt* would mean 'have passed a law;' *habent sanctum,* 'have a law' passed some time since and still in force. Cf. the English 'I have written;' German, *Ich habe geschrieben.*

l. 28. **uti . . . neve:** *neve* = *et ut non.*

l. 29. **cum quo alio communicet,** 'impart it to any one else:' *quo* from *quis*, indefinite.

## PAGE 33.

line 5. **ex usu:** cf. *e republica esse; pocula ex auro; a me stat.*

l. 7. CHAP. 21.—See Introd., p. xxxi.

l. 16. **impuberes,** 'unmarried,' from *impubes, -eris,* which in poetry and later Latin makes *impubis* in the genitive. Cf. Tac. Germ. chap. xx.: *sera iuvenum venus coque inexhausta pubertas.*

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l. 20. **renonum.** The *reno* seems to be a 'fell' or skin of some wild beast, prepared with the hair on, and forming a short jacket. Tacitus says they adorned them with portions of rarer and more variegated skins. Some take *reno* to be the reindeer, but there is no evidence for this.

l. 26. CHAP. 22.—**gentibus cognationibusque,** 'to clans and bodies of kinsmen.'

l. 27. **quantum . . . agri.** *Agri* is genitive, depending on *quantum*; the *et quo loco visum est* does not affect the construction, but is treated as a parenthesis.

l. 28. **anno post,** ablative of time when.

**alio,** 'elsewhere.'

## PAGE 34.

line 1. **studium . . . agricultura.** It would be equally good Latin, and mean the same thing, to say here *studio . . . agriculturam.*

l. 3. **ne accuratius . . . aedificent,** and so lose their hardy habits of living out of doors.

l. 6. **nascuntur.** This is Caesar's statement, not given as one of their reasons, in which case it must have been subjunctive, as being oblique narration.

**aequitate,** abl. of means: P. § 113.

l. 9. CHAP. 23.—If the last chapter was true only of the roving Germans with whom Caesar came into contact, this, on the other hand, is true of the whole race. Tacitus (Germ. chap. xxvi.) mentions the custom of changing lands every year. It was brought over into England with our English forefathers, and only slowly disappeared as the nation passed from the warrior and migratory state to that of settled agriculture and civilization. The land thus apportioned every year was called the *mark*, and this gradually became the feudal *manor*.

**quam latissime,** 'as far and wide as possible.' See note on Bk. v., chap. 39.

l. 12. **prope,** 'near.'



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l. 15. **qui . . . praesint,** 'to conduct the war.' Note the subjunctive: P. p. 156. (3.), note on Adjectival or Relative Clauses.

l. 16. **ut,** 'on the understanding that.'

l. 18. **atque,** 'moreover.'

l. 24. **qui sequi velint, profiteantur.** This is the indefinite *qui:* 'such as wish.' *Profiteantur* is the jussive mood, as this use of the subjunctive is aptly called: 'let such as wish to come, give in their names.'

l. 28. **ducuntur,** 'are held.' *Duco* and *habeo* have both this meaning.

## PAGE 35.

line 1. **qui quacumque de causa.** Tacitus, Germ. chap. xxi., says that the Germans make no difference in their hospitality between friends and strangers: when the host's own resources are at an end, he joins his guest in the search for fresh entertainment elsewhere.

l. 9. CHAP. **24.—Eratostheni,** astronomer, mathematician, and geographer of Alexandria, flourished about 200 years before Christ.

l. 10. **videe** implies that Caesar had himself read the works of the men to whom he refers.

l. 14. **opinionem,** 'reputation.'

l. 17. **provinciarum,** the two Gauls, Cisalpine and Transalpine.

l. 18. **ad copiam atque usus,** 'to increase their stores, and supply their wants.'

l. 20. **illis;** *i.e.* the Germans.

l. 24. CHAP. **25.—expedito,** 'for a man lightly equipped.' Herodotus uses *εὔξωνος ἀνήρ* in the same way in estimating a measure of distance.

**patet,** 'extends.'

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l. 27. **recta regione,** 'parallel with;' literally, 'in a straight line with.' *Regione moveri* is 'to proceed in a straight line;' *e regione castrorum, pontis,* &c., commonly used in Caesar, means 'exactly opposite to,'—the two positions being regarded as the extremities of one straight line.

l. 28. **sinistrorsus** = *sinistr-o-versus:* cf. *prorsus* = *pro-versus. Quorsum, rursum,* and *deorsum* are some of the many compounds of this adverb.

PAGE 36.

*line* 2. **huius;** *i.e.* Western Germany.

**qui . . . dicat,** 'who can say.'

l. 3. **initium,** 'the farther end.'

**cum . . . processerit,** 'even after advancing.'

l. 9. CHAP. **26.—bos cervi figura.** *Bos* is a vague word, and is applied even to the elephant, so that no objection can be raised on this score to the belief that the reindeer is meant. Others suppose the creature to be the bison. The one horn must be set down as a traveller's tale. Perhaps he only saw the animal from the side, or perhaps one horn had been shed and not the other. The *palmae ramique* point markedly to the reindeer (*Cervus tarandus*), and fossil remains of these have been found in Germany.

l. 15. CHAP. **27.—alces,** 'elks' (*Cervus alces*). The American moose is an elk. It was no doubt common in the primeval forests. It is not true that it has no joints in the legs, but its ungainly stiff gait might easily give rise to the belief.

l. 18. **cornibus,** abl. of respect.

l. 25. **omnes,** to be construed with *arbores.* 'They either dig the earth away or cut deep into the trunk.'

l. 26. **summa species earum stantium,** 'an undistinguishable likeness to standing trees.'

l. 27. **consuetudine,** generally *ex consuetudine* in Caesar.

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PAGE 37.

line 1. CHAP. 28.—**uri.** Probably the *urus* is the *Bos primigenius*, of which fossil remains have been found not unfrequently in France and Germany. The horns are of huge dimensions. It is called by the Germans the *Urochs*, and is believed to be the species from which our ox (*Bos taurus*) is descended.

l. 9. **quae sint testimonio,** 'to serve as evidence.' For the subjunctive, see note on *qui possint* in chap. 23; for the dative, Bk. v., chap. 28.

l. 11. **excepti,** 'trapped.' *Excipere* has three common meanings in Caesar: 1. 'to lie in wait for,' as here; 2. 'to welcome;' 3. 'to receive' or 'succeed to.'

l. 14. **ab labris,** 'at the rim:' cf. *ab radicibus* above, chap. 27, and the Greek use of *ἀπό*. Ancient German drinking horns, some of them of huge size, may be seen in many collections of antiquities.

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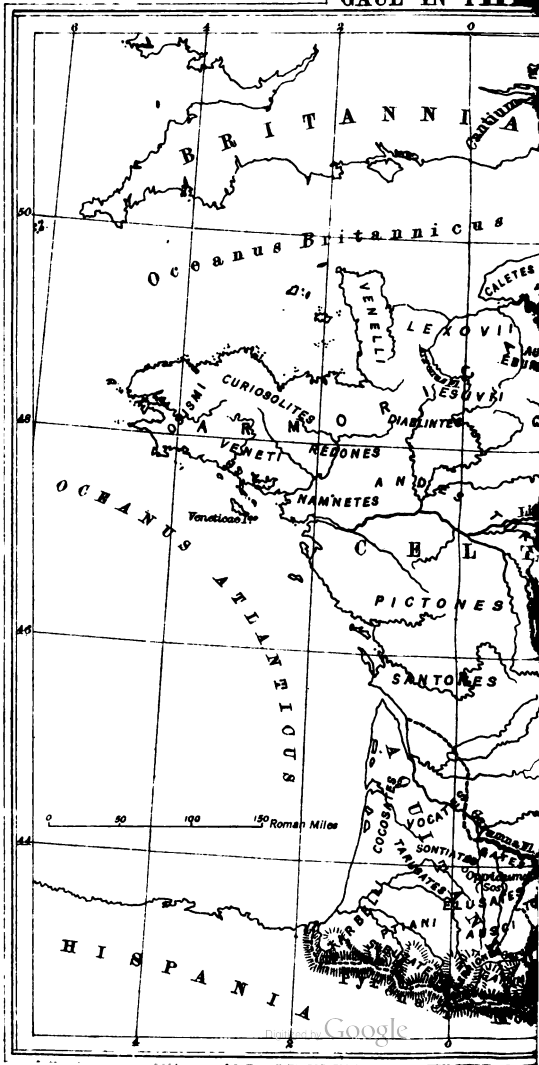


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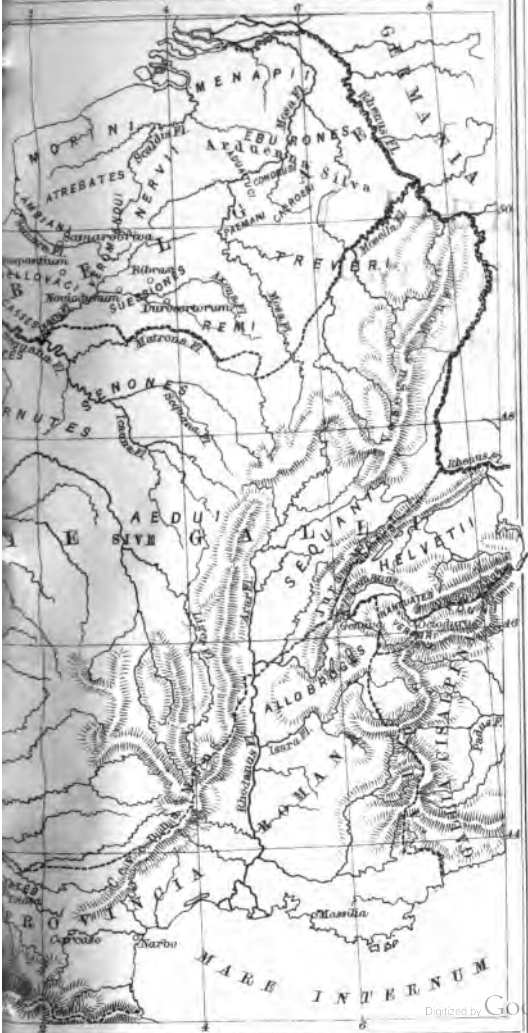


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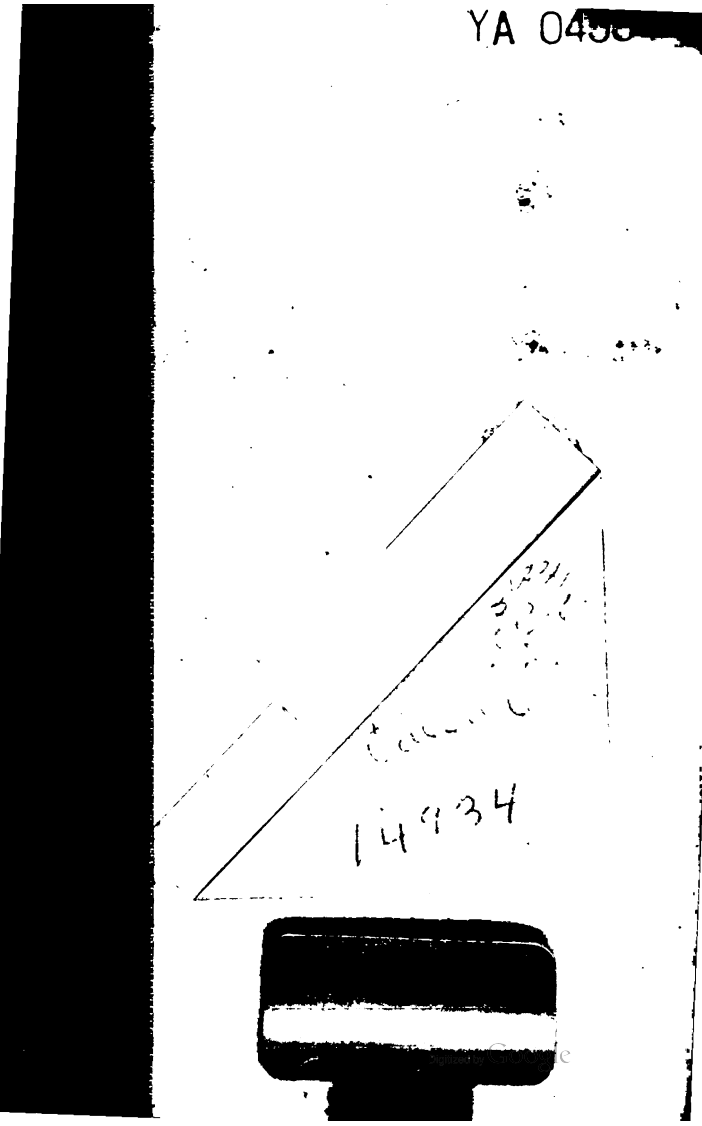

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